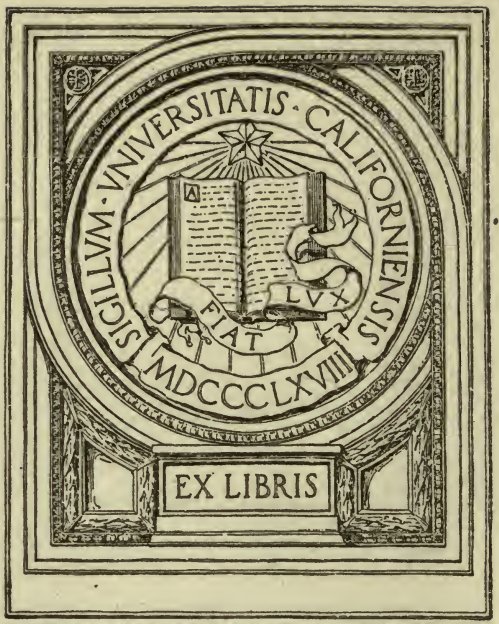
WINNING THE FIGHT AGAINST DRINK

E. L. EATON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WINNING THE FIGHT AGAINST DRINK

THE HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT, RATIONAL BASIS, MORAL, FINANCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND SCIENTIFIC APPEAL OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORM, IN WHICH EVERY PHASE OF THE SUBJECT IS FULLY CONSIDERED.

By

E. L. EATON, D. D.

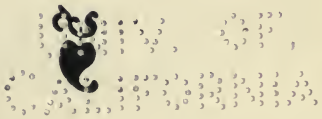

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Historical Outline,	23
II.	Biblical Basis of Temperance,	42
III.	The Moral Issue,	74
IV.	The Financial Question,	109
V.	The Economic Problem,	138
VI.	The Scientific Status,	175
VII.	System of Regulation,	220
VIII.	Doctrine of Prohibition,	245
IX.	Political Action,	282
X.	Opportunity of the Church,	310

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FOREWORD

A CENTURY of the Temperance Reform has given birth to quite an extensive literature upon that subject. Almost every feature of the great movement has been exhaustively treated by eminent students, and this literature is the just pride of all friends of the great Reform. However, as the cause has advanced and the minds of men have grown, the best treatises have had to be revised or replaced by other and better expositions of the principles upon which the movement is founded.

In this book I have striven to record the progress of the movement and to utter the latest word which the Reform has to offer; but I dare not presume to write the last word upon a movement so full of life and growth as this cause has shown in every stage since its birth. It is not wholly unlike the popular sciences, of which, if one desires to keep abreast, he can not afford to wait for regular treatises, but must ever seek record of the newest discovery or theory in the daily and monthly publications. Nevertheless, in common with all true science, there are cer-

tain fundamental truths which, when once made known, underlie and enter into all future considerations of the subject. These great and basic principles of the Reform I have sought to state with clearness and to defend with vigor. Every phase of the subject I have endeavored to canvass. A chapter has been devoted separately to each of them, and my purpose has been to bring together in each chapter all that should be said upon that particular branch of the general subject.

Perhaps there is no subject, either moral or political, now before the public which has so many distinct and well-defined phases; and for one to master them all would assure him little less than a liberal education, since there is scarcely anything in history, literature, science, jurisprudence, politics, or Revelation which he would not need to explore.

I offer this book not as the final, but as the latest word upon every important and vital feature of the subject, and I do this with the hope that it may render a special service to all who desire a knowledge of the principles and aspirations of the Temperance Reform. And this overture is the more confidently made because no other single book of recent date aims so fully to cover the entire ground. If this work shall have the good fortune to fall into the hands of ministers

of the gospel, I hope that it may so far commend itself to them as to obviate any necessity of loss of time and energy in contending with its positions; but, rather, that it may furnish both motive and material for sermons and lectures upon this the greatest living moral issue now pressing upon the thought of the world. Thus will my book have fulfilled the errand upon which, with fervent hope and earnest prayer, I send it forth. E. L. Eaton.

Madison, Wis., May, 1912.

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TEMPERANCE AND PROHIBITION LITERATURE.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE TEMPERANCE SOCIETY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.
Shawnee Building, Topeka, Kans.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE TEMPERANCE COMMITTEE OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.
Consatoga Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE.
Columbus, Ohio.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE NATIONAL TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.
No. 3 E. 14th Street, New York.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.
Evanston, Ill.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY.
106 N. La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

TEMPERANCE AND PROHIBITION BOOKS.

"World's Temperance Centennial Congress."
National Temperance Society, New York.

"Alcohol and the Human Body."
Horsley & Sturge. The Macmillan Company, New York.

"Anti-Saloon League Year Books."
Columbus, Ohio.

"American Prohibition Year Books."
Chicago, Ill.

"The Christian Citizen."
John G. Woolley. Prohibition Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

"Legalized Outlaw."
Judge S. R. Artman. Anti-Saloon League Headquarters.

"The Rose-Dickie Debates."
Prohibition Headquarters.

"A Century of Drink Reform."
Fehlandt. Methodist Book Concern.

"Profit and Loss in Man."
A. A. Hopkins. Prohibition Headquarters.

"Temperance Addresses of John B. Finch."
National Temperance Society, New York.

"Wealth and Waste."
A. A. Hopkins. National Temperance Society.

INTRODUCTION

The men and women who are planning for the next step toward National prohibition are opposed by the mightiest trust in existence. The beverage poison traffic has become an organized temptation, a world-embracing trust in narcotic stimulants, coining into cash the vices, the perverted appetite, and even the social craving of mankind.

Not less than one billion dollars of capital is invested in the production of alcoholic liquors. The consumption of beer and whisky for the last governmental year exceeded two billion gallons, an average of twenty-three gallons for every man, woman, and child in America.

The consumption of absolute alcohol, despite all the victories achieved against the traffic, has increased during the past forty years from 1.36 gallons per capita in 1840 to 1.78 gallons in 1910, an increase due largely to the remarkable growth in the use of beer. To-day malt liquors comprise 90 per cent of the total per capita consumption of intoxicating drinks, and are responsible for more

than 90 per cent of the actual increase during the past half century in the consumption of absolute alcohol. Chicago brewers assert that the sale of beer in that city alone will, on a summer day, reach one million gallons.

BREWERS' EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

A persistent effort is being made by the brewers' propaganda to create a false popular understanding as to the effects of beer-drinking, and it has been so far successful that the use of beer upon the tables of the masses is becoming common, thus extending its corrupting influence into the confines of home life, as the increased drinking among women projects the curse to the as yet unborn.

That the liquor industry is a close-knit trust is emphatically proven by the fact that, although the production is growing by leaps and bounds, the number of breweries and distilleries is being rapidly decreased. This compact union of interests makes possible the mighty power manifested in the domination of the Federal Government, the control of political nominations, the almost universal ascendency of the liquor traffic in city administrations, the compulsion of active assistance from our State and agricultural authorities, the immunity of vice, and, in

many places of gambling, the prostitution of a large section of the press to the circulation of glaring falsehoods, the snubbing of all prohibition representations at the White House, and in the bringing to bear upon each separate locality in the Nation the entire weight of a Nationally-supported propaganda for the exploitation of the people.

WHAT THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IS DOING.

Divorce is multiplying, due, nine-tenths of it, say the authorities, to the growing and pernicious influence of liquors.

Insanity is increasing, due, according to the Nation's greatest authorities, to the same cause.

Three million Americans are seeking work and finding none, because the liquor traffic has tied up one billion dollars in an industry which pays only ninety dollars in wages for every million of capital, while the average is four hundred and fifty dollars for every million of capital.

Crime is gaining because the liquor traffic is aggressively contending against law in every community, breaking down the law-abiding spirit of the people, and sending forth those of weak moral fiber to do evil deeds under the stimulus of drink.

Our elections are being corrupted and the

saloon is invariably found to be the harbor of safety for repeaters and tricksters.

Our American principles are being assailed, and successfully so in our cities, by an insidious, well-planned propaganda.

The influence of the Church is waning to give place to the increasing influence of the saloon as "a social center," and the American home is under fire.

Every agency of the central government, including the privilege of interstate commerce, of treaty laws, of tariffs and revenues, of the mails, of local license permits, of consular services, of administration influence, is being constantly brought to bear upon those localities which are trying to rid themselves of the traffic, thus nullifying their efforts and substituting oppression for self-government.

I am no special statistician; but I have figured that if all the bottles of whisky and beer in the country were laid side by side they would reach from the remotest brewery to the Nation's capital.

There is no question on earth that the politicians are so afraid of having pushed to the front as this liquor question.

How much longer will professing, praying, preaching, practicing temperance men be delivered in the same camp on election day with the men who are in the traffic that

stands for the very opposite things for which we have prayed and for which we think we are voting?

Can any one fail to see that a system that leaves the capital untouched and a cause unrepresented which has carried three-fourths of our territory is the failure of popular government? For if the majority of the people are against the liquor traffic, then a majority of their representatives in Congress should so stand; and will so stand under any decent system of representative government that responds quickly to the will of the people. But Washington does not so respond. The States are dry and the government wet. Even dry States have wet representatives to misrepresent them at Washington.

WHAT SHALL WE DO? WHAT WE HAVE TRIED.

What shall we do next? We have tried letting it alone. But it did not let us alone. Our homes, our hearts, our happiness, our children, our neighborhood, our business, our taxes were all affected.

We have tried Moderation of use; but an insidious appetite was planted that grew into an insatiable craving, which, like the horse leech, cried ever, "More, more!"

We have tried Total Abstinence. But the

abstinence of the well-disposed never reduced the volume of traffic, nor the drunkenness of society, nor the crimes, poverty, or dangers abroad.

We have tried License, but only succeeded in selling a monopoly of special privilege and becoming a senior partner in a trade of human souls for revenue only.

We raised to High License, and the monopolies formed a trust, went into politics, captured the political parties, moved to Washington, and entrenched themselves in the interstate commerce, in effective lobby and sealed committee work, in administrative departments, and in the White House.

There are two pillars which support the archway of triumph through which the rum power expects to march into the future: respectability to entrap the youth, and revenue to bribe the voter. The high-license system has given the trade these two immunities, and so fastened it upon the people.

THE ONE BULWARK OF THE TRAFFIC.

Do you realize that all the evils of intemperance, of rum rule in cities, of drunkenness, poverty, insanity, crime, delinquency, degeneracy, and the pre-natal damnation of the innocent connected with this beverage-poison trade have grown up under our li-

cense system and strengthened with its strength? We have tried it long and tested it well; "it is weighed in the balances and found wanting."

The whole license scheme is lame in logic and a failure in practice; wrong in principle and powerless as a remedy; foolish as a financial investment and a Judas Iscariot deal in morals. High license has coined buzzard dollars to lay on the closed eyes of a nation's dead conscience. Every penny of it symbolizes our shame.

We have tried Government Ownership and Control. The State has donned the white apron and stood like a red-nosed biped with the accustomed smile. But the State succeeded in befouling herself with the dirty deal and left no clean spot on the liquor traffic. It can never be reformed as long as alcohol dwells in whisky and beer, and it can not be legalized without sin.

We have tried Local Option. And as a temporary device for getting a pry under a local rum-shop entrenchment, though too local and too optional, it did promise a piecemeal deliverance. But we wake to find that at the end of its most triumphant decade the liquor traffic is selling more poison per capita than ever before.

It has not reduced the volume. It has

scattered our forces till we are chasing all over creation for a menagerie of blind pigs, blind tigers, bootleggers, and saloon-keepers, while the real power of evil is entrenched in National law and administration.

MISDIRECTED AIM.

Then it has misdirected our aim. Our guns are on the poor saloon-keeper and blind tiger. But the heart of the evil is not here. Why should we, already out of breath, try to run to cover two hundred and fifty thousand different saloon-keepers, when three thousand breweries and distilleries can be closed at one stroke, and saloons would die by the cutting off of supply.

The power that has corrupted our politics, broken down city government, organized vice and made it regnant in civic affairs, is not the saloon, but the organized brewer and distiller, and any method that ignores the source of this evil and merely treats symptoms must utterly fail as the final solution of the liquor problem. Local option is entirely too local for a National problem, and it is entirely too optional for a moral question.

We have tried State-wide Prohibition, but even this has been left in the hands of its enemies to enforce, and it has been easy to

run a dry city wide open by having a dry law and a wet administration.

How much longer will it take us to learn that a good law in the hands of its enemies for enforcement fails; a wet law and a wet administration make things wet; a dry law and a wet administration leave them damp; but a dry law and a dry administration, if the law and the administration strike at the cause, will make things dry?

This is no local question. It centers in the National Government, and the evil centers in the manufacture of intoxicants for beverage purposes and in our National revenue system. It is backed by our interstate commerce laws, and these things can not be remedied by local option or by State-wide prohibition; not that either is wrong either in purpose or principle, but they are inadequate.

The time ought to have come fifty years ago when the partnership of the greatest Christian Nation on earth and the leprous liquor traffic should be dissolved; but surely the time is here when the connivance by the Washington officials with the liquor outlaws of various States should cease.

The experiments that we have tried and found to fail remind one of the philosopher's comment on human nature, that "in civic

righteousness men will not go the right way until every wrong way has been tried."

There is need for a standard book on the Liquor Problem with enough history of the movement to point out the pitfalls to young reformers; with enough science to equip the reader to explain why alcohol is not a food, but a poison; with statistics sufficient to demonstrate the ruin wrought by the liquor traffic; with the Bible-teaching stated; for, strange as it may seem, the liquor power has appealed to the Bible, and to the Bible it shall go. We need a survey of the field of operation and an estimate of the forces that are for us as well as of those that be against us, and a careful weighing of the arguments that will hold and a casting away of those that will not.

Dr. E. L. Eaton has been selected as the one best equipped to write such a book; he has complied with the request; and this work is believed to be the most readable, adequate, conclusive, and inspiring volume that could be put in the hands of a young preacher facing the temperance problem in his community, or as a safe guide for any voter conscious of the responsibility of citizenship in relation to the appalling wrong of the twentieth century—the existence of the liquor traffic and the compromise of license. While

bad men vote for the saloon and good men vote with it, there is no remedy for this evil This book will aid to clearer views and inspire to more vigorous service. May it have a wide circulation! Workers of the world Unite!

CLARENCE TRUE WILSON.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

THERE is much reason to believe that fermented wine and some other intoxicants were very anciently produced, and that drunkenness stands among the oldest of human vices. Few were the tribes or nations of antiquity that were free from it. Wise men in all countries seem to have deplored the evils that come in the train of drink. Literature resounds with its note of warning. The sad story is the same everywhere.

The Hebrew people were generally a temperate people, though there were times in their history when intemperance became a very great evil. Isaiah and Habakkuk cry out in strong terms against the drink-curse in their day. During His public ministry our Lord does not seem to have encountered an instance of drunkenness. Neither did He have any occasion to express an opinion, nor to issue any injunction concerning the use of intoxicating drink. This is quite remarkable, and shows that drunkenness was evi-

dently not a dominating vice among the people of Israel in our Lord's day. Had it existed to any considerable extent, it could hardly have escaped His notice, nor some record of its presence by the New Testament writers.

The Koran forbids the use of intoxicants, and the followers of Mohammed have generally been credited with being total abstainers. The ancient Nazarites and the Rechabites used no strong drink. The Hindus and some other tribes and classes in heathen countries, like the Roman vestals—at least in theory—were total abstainers. All these are but illustrious exceptions to the almost universal practice of mankind in all countries and in all ages. It can not be denied that a vast amount of intemperance has prevailed over Europe in modern times and to the present hour. Less than a century ago France was regarded as one of the most temperate countries of Europe; but in recent years has become quite otherwise, even to the extent of greatly alarming her public men.

In our own country we are confronted with the paradoxical situation that a larger portion of our people are total abstainers than there were sixty or seventy years ago, while a greater amount of liquors, *per capita,* are annually being consumed than at the for-

mer period. It would seem, therefore, that the temperate were drinking less and the intemperate were drinking more, proportionately, than they were a generation or two ago. This is analogous to the situation in the spiritual world, which is in fact growing better, while at the same time "evil men and seducers are waxing worse and worse."

MORNING STARS.

Morning stars heralded the dawn of the Great Reform. Conspicuous among them is John Wesley, who in 1743 prepared the "General Rules" for his societies in England, and later in America. He introduced one rule against "drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in case of extreme necessity." His lifelong preaching and practice were in perfect harmony with this "Rule." This was high ground to take at a time when the use of intoxicating liquors was nearly universal both in England and America.

In 1794 Dr. Benjamin Rush, an eminent physician of Philadelphia, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, published an epoch-making book entitled, "A Medical Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits upon the Body and Mind." This was practically the first essay ever published

—certainly the first in America—upon the subject of intoxicating beverages, and it dealt faithfully with the evils of strong drink, and did a vast amount of good in creating and crystallizing sentiment against intemperance. His arguments were directed mainly against distilled spirits, and urged that as a beverage they are useless, pernicious, and universally dangerous, and therefore ought to be wholly abandoned.

Among the early ministers who became conspicuous as advocates of the cause of temperance was Dr. Lyman Beecher. Moved by the piteous appeals of a wife whose husband was a victim of drink, Dr. Beecher preached six powerful sermons in 1825 on the subject of Temperance. These sermons were translated into several languages and extensively published throughout this country and in Europe. After the passage of nearly a century they still remain classics of the great Reform.

FIRST TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES.

On a stormy night in March, 1808, after a day spent in visiting his patients and witnessing some of the ravages of rum, Dr. Billy J. Clark, weary of body, dripping with rain, called upon his pastor, the Rev. Lebbeus Armstrong, pastor of the Congrega-

tional Church in Northumberland, N. Y., and uttered these words: "Sir, we shall become a community of drunkards unless something is speedily done to arrest the progress of intemperance."

That visit resulted in the formation of the first temperance society in modern times, on the 13th day of April, 1808, at Clark's Corners, Saratoga County, N. Y. It was called "The Union Temperance Society of Moreau and Northumberland." Dr. Billy J. Clark was its leading spirit. He was a country doctor, who, during his thirty-four years of faithful service to the sick, saw much of the evils of drink and set himself to do what he could to war against it and to accomplish its overthrow. That society, which still exists, was the result of his effort, and it has the imperishable honor of inaugurating a hundred years of anti-drink crusade and of pioneering the way for literally thousands of temperance organizations.

THE CHURCH IN THE GREAT REFORM.

In addition to the General Rule against the use of strong drink which Mr. Wesley wrote and which the Methodists adopted upon the organization of the Church in 1784, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church took further notice of the

subject at its session of 1812. This action condemned the use of ardent spirits, and, "adding precept to example," it legislated against either ministers or laymen engaging in the liquor business, and appealed to the Annual Conferences to support this action. Thus it put the Church in perfect harmony with the Sacred Scriptures and placed it in the position which it has ever kept in the vanguard of this great Reform.

The Congregational Church took similar high ground, also in 1812, against both the sale and use of ardent spirits. Some of these Churches began to exclude drunkards and retail dealers in strong drink as early as 1815.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at the instance of Dr. Benjamin Rush, in 1811 appointed a committee to cooperate with similar committees of other religious bodies for the suppression of the liquor traffic. It was the inspiration of this action which led Dr. Lyman Beecher to renewed diligence in assailing the evils of drink. In 1818 the Presbyterian Church came out strongly against the use of all intoxicating liquors. It was first in recommending the closing of liquor shops on Sundays, and among the first to organize temperance societies in Sunday schools.

It was not long before practically every

evangelical denomination in America had put itself on record against the manufacture, sale, and use of intoxicating liquors. The traffic in drink was soon recognized as the mightiest foe of the Church. It is but natural, therefore, that among all classes of true Christians there is a deep conviction that the Church ought to lead in this great reform, and that intemperance will not be utterly overthrown until the Church fully appreciates its duty, its opportunity, and its responsibility in the work. There are some hopeful signs in recent years that it is seeking to meet the moral demands upon it. The hour that sees the Church of Jesus Christ fully awake and perfectly united in its assault on intemperance the liquor traffic will die. May God hasten the day!

THE WASHINGTONIANS.

A remarkable temperance organization had its birth at Chase's tavern, in Baltimore, on the 2d of April, 1840, when about twenty chronic drinkers resolved to give up their cups and band themselves together to support the Total Abstinence Pledge which they signed. This was the beginning of the "Washingtonian Movement," which spread rapidly over this country, and during its brief but animated career many thousands

signed the total abstinence pledge. The headway thus gained for the doctrine of total abstinence found expression in the formation of temperance societies of various orders, through which a vast amount of good was accomplished. Many of these societies are active to this day.

A fraternal order known as "The Sons of Temperance" was organized in 1842 and grew rapidly, extending over the entire Nation. It organized a similar society for the children in 1845 under the name of "The Juvenile Sons of Temperance." Other fraternal temperance societies were soon organized, among them "The Cadets of Temperance," "The Rechabites," and "The Good Samaritans."

The first National Temperance convention ever held in this country was called to meet in Independence Hall in the city of Philadelphia on the 24th day of May, 1833. This convention resolved that "in our opinion it is the duty of all men to abstain from the use of ardent spirits, and from the traffic in the same."

This convention organized "The United States Temperance Union," which at its meeting in Saratoga Springs, several years later—August, 1836—was changed to "The

American Temperance Union," and a pledge of total abstinence from all intoxicants was adopted. Speaking of this action, Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler said, "It was at this convention that the banner of total abstinence from all intoxicants was first hoisted to the masthead!" The convention represented the various Churches and temperance societies, and invited the hearty co-operation of all.

At a third meeting in Saratoga Springs, in August, 1865, two important committees were appointed, one to arrange for the organization of a National temperance society, and another to work out a plan for the establishment of a temperance publishing house. This action resulted, in a couple of months, in the permanent organization of the "National Temperance Society and Publishing House" in the city of New York. Hon. William E. Dodge was made president, and John N. Stearns was appointed publishing agent, with a board of managers, and vice-presidents in every State of the Union.

This society has done an immense amount of good, chiefly in publishing and distributing high-class and reliable temperance literature. At the Centennial Temperance Celebration in Saratoga, N. Y., in 1908, Dr. A. Allison, general secretary of the society,

gave a glowing report of the work: "During the forty-three years since the National Temperance Society and Publishing House was organized it has distributed over one billion copies of the three papers, *The National Advocate, Youth's Temperance Banner,* and *The Water Lily;* has sent out over ten million pledge cards, hundreds of thousands of books, tracts and pamphlets, representing in all over one and a quarter billion pages of literature. This literature has been distributed not only practically all over the country, but indeed over the entire world, for the correspondence and calls of the National Temperance Society cover every clime and every land."

"The Independent Order of Good Templars," a fraternal society similar to the Sons of Temperance, was organized a few years later than the latter organization. It took high ground for total abstinence and prohibition. It has accomplished an incalculable amount of good in disseminating its doctrines throughout the country. It spread rapidly over this continent, entered many of the countries of Europe, and has penetrated into the Far East. It is organized in some of the armies of England, Germany, and in the military camps of some other countries, and is to be found in Africa, Australia, Hawaii,

New Zealand, and many of the islands of the Pacific Ocean.

"The Woman's Christian Temperance Union," born of the Woman's Crusade in Ohio in 1873, came into existence as an organization in Cleveland, Ohio, November 20, 1874. It spread rapidly over the United States and into foreign countries. Its motto is, "For God and home and every land." Its badge is the "little white ribbon." It takes the most advanced position upon every living phase of the temperance question. It stands for social purity, and for the enfranchisement and elevation of women. It seeks to enlist all classes of Christian women in an aggressive crusade against all forms of iniquity: personal, social, and National. It has many departments of work and has championed many excellent moral reforms. It has done much to develop scientific temperance, and has led a successful campaign to secure instruction in the public schools upon the evil effects of strong drink and narcotics upon the human system; and laws to that effect have been placed upon practically all the statute books in the United States.

The organization was made world-wide in 1883, and now embraces fifty nations of the earth.

TOTAL ABSTINENCE IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

On the 22d day of February, 1872, was organized a society of the Roman Catholic people for the promotion of the cause of temperance, entitled, "The Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America." It is composed of both men and women, and of boys and girls above the age of twelve years. It has a present membership of one hundred thousand and is organized in many, perhaps most, of the Catholich Churches in this country. It requires each of its members to take the following pledge:

"I promise, with the Divine assistance, and in honor of the sacred thirst and agony of the Savior, to abstain from all intoxicating drinks; to prevent, as much as possible, by advice and example, the sin of Intemperance in others, and to discountenance the drinking customs of society."

The National headquarters of the union are at No. 6 Eldredge Court, Chicago. Local societies are permitted to call themselves by any name they choose, such as the name of the parish, "Father Matthew Society," "Veronica League," etc. This total abstinence union is exerting an incalculable influence for good among the Catholic people;

it is one of the most cheering signs of progress in the great reform, and is entitled to the hearty sympathy of all who love righteousness and temperance. No Protestant can look with indifference upon one hundred thousand of his Catholic fellow-citizens banded together under such a glorious temperance banner as that.

The Third Plenary Council of the Catholic Church, held in Baltimore in 1884, declared: "We call upon all pastors to induce their flocks that may be engaged in the sale of liquors to abandon the dangerous traffic as soon as possible, and to make their living in some more honorable way."

The Catholic Total Abstinence Union, at its Thirty-eight Annual Convention, held in New Haven in August, 1908, said: "Catholic periodicals that can not live without liquor advertisements should die. Let them not drag down the Catholic name in their greed. Those that love the name Catholic must not permit it to be used by the traffickers in politics or in printers' ink."

At its annual meeting in Boston in August, 1910, there were hundreds of eager young people and many veterans from nearly every section of the United States. This convention took high ground for total abstinence and prohibition, urged all societies of Cath-

olics to exclude from their halls and building all intoxicating liquors, condemned the use of alcohol for medical purposes, urged the total elimination of liquor advertisements from every Catholic publication in the land, re-emphasized the fundamental need of pledge-signing for the youth, and advocated the introduction of text-books into Catholic schools teaching scientific truths regarding the alcohol curse. Such deliverances are splendid signs of progress, and elicit the hearty sympathy of every good man.

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE.

A great many plans and associations for non-partisan political action were attempted in different parts of the country for a number of years after the Civil War. The liquor traffic was entrenched in politics, and yet it had never confined its activities to any one political party, but had persistently sought from the beginning to make its influence felt in all political parties. Many temperance people thought that the cause of temperance could be best advanced by a similar policy; hence these non-partisan movements, which culminated at last in the year 1895 in an organization perfected at Oberlin, Ohio, chiefly under the direction of Dr. Howard Russell. This organization was intended to be a

league of all the Churches of America, if possible, against the saloon. It was to be Nation-wide, and to become a dominating factor in electing temperance men to office, in securing temperance legislation in State and Nation, and in the enforcement of temperance laws.

Rev. Dr. A. J. Kynett, of Philadelphia, had quite fully outlined such an organization, and had for several years advocated its adoption. Dr. Herrick Johnson proposed such an organization to the Congress of Religions in Chicago in 1893. Rev. Dr. Homer Wilson had been instrumental in effecting a similar organization in Washington. But the form which these suggestions finally took culminated in the organization of the Anti-Saloon League. During the sixteen years of its existence it has become quite well established throughout the Nation, and has made its influence felt for good in many directions. Thus far its energies have been directed chiefly to the securing of local option by counties, with the hope that this will lead on to State-wide and finally to National prohibition.

EMINENT LEADERS.

It would be difficult to mention all those noble men and women who have contributed

their lives and labors to this great reform. It is a roll of honor of which the whole world may be proud. Time would fail to tell of them all, but that need not deter us from loving and appreciative mention of some, grateful that it would be so easy to add a hundred more to the list. John Wesley, legislating for his young societies as strenuously against strong drink as against slavery and arson; Dr. Billy J. Clark, heartsick at sight of almost universal drunkenness, and setting himself resolutely to stem the tide; Dr. Benjamin Rush, physician, educator, patriot, striking the first blow and thereby pioneering the way to scientific temperance; Lyman Beecher, taking the cause of temperance into his pulpit and sanctifying it at the altars of the Church; Neal Dow, father of prohibition, philanthropist, patriot, statesman, Christian; John B. Gough, a "brand plucked from the burning," glowing with such luster as to dispel the darkness of the drunkard's night and to illuminate two hemispheres; Thurlow W. Brown, the "Cayuga Chief," a voice in the wilderness, tender and persuasive as a zephyr, but awful in invective as a thunderstorm; Father Matthew, apostle and saint, leading his beloved race out of the quagmire of drink to the mountain heights of total abstinence; Theodore L.

Cuyler, brilliant, majestic, tender, loving, eloquent, optimistic, ever burning with a Scotch conviction; William E. Dodge, the Christian merchant, consecrating his heart, time, and money to help lost men; John N. Stearns, giving fine sagacity and business energy to the publication of a great temperance literature; Samuel D. Hastings, eloquent writer and encyclopedia of the great reform; Henry W. Blair, a lone voice crying all but in vain in the wilderness of a rum-ruled Congress; Frances E. Willard, peerless leader, eloquent, persuasive, resourceful, blending the vision of the prophet, the grace of a queen, and the spirit of a seraph into a most Christlike personality; John B. Finch, great advocate, truth on fire, philosopher with his mighty message that "no question is ever settled until it is settled right;" Mary T. Lathrop, the Daniel Webster of the great reform; John P. St. John, splendid campaigner, brilliant, audacious, magnetic; George C. Haddock, strong, eloquent, fearless, the St. Stephen of glorified martyrdom; Samuel Dickie, stately, scholarly, able, matchless in debate; George W. Bain, gentle of spirit, musical of voice, eloquent of speech, great of heart; Sam Jones, irresistibly humorous, independent, audacious, volcanic, an unrelenting scourge of evil-doers;

T. DeWitt Talmadge, graphic, pictorial, humorous, pathetic, with power cyclonic; John Bascom, great thinker, uniting the heart of a woman, the head of a philosopher, and the purpose of a martyr; Wilbur F. Crafts, alert, swift with index-finger on every moral issue, and power to grasp the significance of world-movements; J. Frank Hanly, intense as Demosthenes, consecrating great talents and great opportunities to a great cause; Seaborn Wright, persuasive, candid, convincing, a remarkable combination of fervent conviction with political wisdom; John G. Woolley, master of speech, the Wendell Phillips of the new abolition; Eugene W. Chafin, a real "Sunny Jim," optimistic, irresistible, able, a Phœnix in adversity, happy, vanquished, if only in the right; Charles H. Mead, overflowing with good humor, eloquence, and fine sense, with half a century of heroic service to his credit,—these are but a few of God's prophets of a great moral movement for the uplift of mankind.

OTHER HISTORICAL MATTERS.

The history of legislative efforts that have been made to abate the drink evil, the evolution of a correct medical science touching the use of intoxicants, the rational and moral grounds of the great reform, and the

attitude of political parties,—these, though properly belonging to an historical sketch, will be fully treated in subsequent chapters of this book, and may therefore be properly omitted from this chapter. While we gratefully acknowledge that one of the mightiest moral movements which the world has seen has been in progress now for more than one hundred years, and has already accomplished results which men's wildest dreams could scarcely anticipate, yet we also fully realize that the battle is still on and growing more fierce, and that the day of final victory is not so near as to warrant any weakening of the assault. It means much to renovate the practice, change the sentiments, revolutionize the customs, and reform the habits which have been imbedded in the very heart of the race and entrenched in their inherited appetites for a hundred generations. But all this is certainly going on, and it affords assurance that a race which can destroy idolatry, slavery, piracy, war, tyranny, and the bloody arena is fully competent to overthrow intemperance, gambling, the social evil, and civic crime.

CHAPTER II

BIBLICAL BASIS OF THE REFORM

Part I. Total Abstinence Enjoined.

It was but natural that in the very early stages of the temperance reform the attitude of the Bible toward the use of intoxicating drink should have been considered as of supreme importance. It quickly became the very storm-center of agitation, and to this day advocates on both sides of the question stoutly claim its support and endorsement. It is therefore of prime importance that we should have clear apprehensions of the true Biblical attitude toward the use of wines made in Oriental lands, which in fact are the wines of the Bible. This phase of the temperance reform concerns itself, therefore, with two questions: Does the Bible clearly make a distinction between fermented and unfermented wines, or wines that are intoxicating and those that are unintoxicating? and, secondly, Does the Bible uniformally condemn the use of intoxicating wines, and as constantly commend the use of wines that are not intoxicating? To these two ques-

tions we will address ourselves in the first part of this chapter.

WINES OF THE BIBLE LANDS.

Until quite recently there was scarcely a break in the uniformity with which Biblical scholars agreed that wine in Scripture means intoxicating wine, and that in most instances its use in Scripture was with divine approval. Almost all lexical authorities are in harmony with these statements, as are nearly all commentaries, dictionaries, and encyclopedias. Among them may be mentioned Webster's, Worcester's, and the Standard dictionaries; the American, the Brittanica, and Chambers's cyclopedias, Smith's "Dictionary of Grecian and Roman Antiquities," Brand's "Dictionary of Science and Art;" and the article "Wine" in McClintock & Strong's Cyclopedia also leans heavily to that side of the question.

Nearly all authorities of this kind seem to agree in treating "wine" and the words answering to it, in whatever language, as names for fermented liquor; and if the temperance reform had no other support for its contention than these authorities—especially such articles as the one last named above—there would be no temperance reform. It must also be admitted that many of those

who in recent years have had personal acquaintance with Bible lands are quite unanimous in their statements that the wines of those countries are all intoxicating; that almost nothing else is known or used.

Upon the face of this showing one would be quite inclined to allow the testimony of modern scholars and travelers to close the controversy. If this testimony is to be taken as final, then it would seem certain that all, or nearly all, the wines used in those countries, both in ancient and in modern times, were intoxicating. But it is not quite certain that the testimony of modern scholars and travelers should close this investigation. Perhaps it can be shown that the practice of making and of drinking wine—especially fermented wine—was not nearly so universal in ancient as in modern times. Perhaps it can be shown that the art of keeping the must or unfermented juice of the grape free from alcohol or the intoxicating quality was anciently well known and extensively employed. Perhaps it can be shown that much of modern scholarship has been misled into thinking that in Bible times the vine was cultivated almost wholly for the purpose of producing wine, and that nearly every one of the thirteen Hebrew words which stand for

the *products* of the vine must be understood as meaning *wine*. And perhaps it can also be shown that the primary or root meaning of some of these words has unduly influenced scholars in their interpretation of these terms rather than the later and more common usage in which they were employed.

SOME COUNTER TESTIMONY.

There is accumulating quite a body of recent evidence which does not support the contention that most Oriental wines are intoxicating. Rev. Henry Holmes, long a missionary in Constantinople, enumerates sixteen different classes of products of the vine, and says that the largest part of these products is for other purposes than making intoxicating liquors. Dr. Robinson says, "No wine is made from the very extensive vineyards of Hebron, except a very little by the Jews." Dr. Eli Smith, long a missionary in Syria, says, "Wine is not the most important, but rather the least so, of all the objects for which the vine is cultivated." And Rev. Henry Holmes, quoted above, thinks that, on account of the influence of modern travelers and of the modern corruption and degradation of the people, the amount of wine now made is greater than at any former

period, but even now it is proportionately small.

From testimonies of this character, which are increasingly abundant, there seems to be a serious discrepancy between the facts as they are and as they have been made to appear by much of the modern Biblical scholarship. So we must turn to the Hebrew Bible and the Greek New Testament for their testimony as being final in this issue. We feel certain that a careful examination of these will reveal the fact that two kinds of wine—one intoxicating and the other unintoxicating—are constantly referred to in the sacred text. This is more fully brought out in the Hebrew Scriptures than in the Greek, for the reason that in the Hebrew language different words are employed to represent different kinds of wine. The Greek language, on the other hand, makes little or no attempt to indicate quality or varieties of wine, put passes every kind under one name. Thus, like our English language, it obliterates distinctions which the Hebrew protects. So the Hebrew Bible must ever remain our final standard of appeal upon the Bible wine question.

Nor is the Biblical question one to be settled exclusively by lexicons and dictionaries. Here the scholar has little advantage over

the ordinary reader who has common sense and education enough to determine the evident meaning of a word by the context and the use to which it is applied.

HEBREW SYNONYMS.

The Hebrew is a small language, yet surprisingly rich in synonyms. It has more than sixty different words for "break," a still larger number for "go," more than one hundred for "take," thirteen for "man," and eleven which we translate "wine." Such a language must delight in fine distinctions, and a translation which makes one English word stand for a dozen or a hundred Hebrew words must certainly obliterate many important shades of meaning. There are forty-five words which we translate "destroy," a treatment which no doubt *destroys* many fine distinctions of the original tongue! The eleven words which we render "wine" can not all mean wine, much less intoxicating wine, but stand probably for other products of the vine. Sixteen of these products have been enumerated, and we have at least thirteen Hebrew words to represent them. It is not necessary, however, to enter into an extensive canvass of all these Hebrew words, since the testimony of the Hebrew Bible turns mainly upon three

of these words and their meaning. And to these three words attention will now be directed.

YAYIN.

This word is found one hundred and forty times in the Hebrew Scriptures, and in such various connections as to leave no doubt that it is a generic word and stands for wine in general, for all the beverage products of the vine, without any reference to their quality, whether intoxicating or unintoxicating. Exactly this is the chief source of all the confusion upon the Bible wine-question. If this word always stood for one specific kind of product, there would be no equivocation in its testimony. But such is not the fact. It stands for everything that is obtained from the vine as a beverage. It is not necessary here to quote all the one hundred and forty texts where the word *yayin* occurs; following are a few of them, a careful examination of which will suffice to support the proposition just now made:

Gen. 9:21: "Noah drank of the wine and was drunken."

1 Sam. 1:14: "How long wilt thou be drunken? Put away thy wine."

Isa. 5:11: "Woe to them that continue till wine inflame them."

1 Sam. 1:24: "Hannah took little Samuel and a bottle of wine to Shiloh."
Neh. 5:15: "The former governors had taken bread and wine of them."
Isa. 55:1: "Buy wine and milk without money" (figurative).
Esther 1:7: "And they drank the royal wine in abundance."
Zeph. 1:13: "Shall plant vineyards, but shall not drink of the wine."
2 Sam. 16:2: "Wine for such as be faint in the wilderness."

These texts are sufficient to show that the word *yayin* is used in the Scripture both with the divine favor and with the divine disfavor, and that is precisely the source of nearly all the confusion upon the wine question as it appears in the sacred records. The only possible explanation of this apparent inconsistency is that the word is a general term for all kinds of beverages that are produced from the vine, whether fermented or unfermented.

Whenever the sacred writers seek to make a distinction and specify *yayin* that is intoxicating or *yayin* that is unintoxicating, they are obliged to resort to other and specific terms. For such purpose two other words are almost invariably used, as what

follows will clearly indicate; and that makes it certain that there are two kinds of *yayin* or wine mentioned in the Bible. We will now furnish a complete canvass of these two specific terms, quoting every text where they occur.

TIROSH.

This is the term for unfermented, unintoxicating wine. It is always found in good company, and forever enjoys the Divine commendation. Always the Divine smile and never the Divine frown rests upon it. It is constantly associated with wheat and corn and oil, and keeps its place among the special blessings of God. It is never the cause of, nor is it ever associated with, drunkenness; and its use is never prohibited, but everywhere and always commended. It occurs thirty-eight times in the Hebrew Bible and in the following places:

Gen. 27:28: "Therefore God give thee plenty of corn and wine."
Gen. 27:37: "With corn and wine have I sustained thee."
Num. 18:12: "The best of the oil and the wine and the wheat."
Deut. 7:13: "He will bless thy land, thy corn, thine oil, thy wine."

Deut. 11:14: "That thou mayest gather thy corn, thine oil and thy wine."
Deut. 12:17: "Eat the tithe of thy corn, thine oil and thy wine."
Deut. 14:23: "Thou shalt eat the tithe of thy corn, of the wine," etc.
Deut. 18:4: "Give the first fruits of thy corn, of thy wine and of thine oil."
Deut. 28:51: "Shall not leave thee either corn, wine or oil."
Deut. 33:28: "Fountain of Jacob upon a land of corn and wine."
Judges 9:12: "Wine which cheereth God and man."
2 Kings 18:32: "Will take you to a land of corn and wine."
2 Chron. 31:5: "First fruit of corn, wine, oil and honey."
2 Chron. 32:28: "Storehouses for the increase of corn and wine and oil."
Neh. 5:11: "And of the corn, the wine and the oil."
Neh. 10:37: "Fruit of all manner of trees, of wine and of oil."
Neh. 10:39: "Of the corn, of the new wine and of the oil."
Neh. 13:5: "The tithes of the corn, the new wine and the oil."
Neh. 13:12: "Tithe of the corn, the new wine and the oil."

Psalm 4:7: "Gladness more than when corn and wine increased."

Prov. 3:10: "Thy presses shall burst out with new wine."

Isa. 24:7: "The new wine mourneth, the vine languisheth."

Isa. 36:17: "Land of corn and wine, of bread and vineyards."

Isa. 62:8: "Give thy corn and thy wine to thine enemies."

Isa. 62:8: "The new wine is found in the cluster a blessing."

Jer. 31:12: "For wheat, for oil and for wine."

Hos. 2:8: "I gave her corn and wine and oil."

Hos. 2:9: "I will take away thy corn and thy wine."

Hos. 2:22: "Earth shall bear the corn, the wine and the oil."

Hos. 7:14: "Assembled themselves for corn and wine."

Hos. 9:2: "The new wine shall fail."

Joel 1:10: "Corn wasted, wine dried up, oil languisheth."

Joel 2:24: "The fats shall overflow with wine and oil."

Joel 12:19: "Behold, I send you corn and wine and oil."

Micah 6:15: "Shall sow but not reap; tread sweet wine but shall not drink."
Hag. 1:11: "Drouth upon the corn, wine and oil.

Zech. 9:17: "Whoredom and wine [*yayin*] and new wine [*tirosh*] take away the heart." This speaks of the imbruting influence of appetite, and clearly points to a state of degradation in which all things minister to fleshliness and sensuality. This can be said of wholesome food and drink as well as of intoxicants.

This examination of the *tirosh* texts ought to satisfy any fair-minded person that the thing which *tirosh* stands for is as harmless as corn and wheat and oil, and is as certainly classed among the blessings of a kind Providence as they. It is nowhere inhibited nor does it anywhere suggest intoxication. Neither is it associated with vice or moral fault. Exactly here must the issue be met. *Tirosh* does *not* mean intoxicating wine. If this is not its character, but stands for fermented and intoxicating wine, then the whole testimony of the Old Testament can be invoked to support the deluge of intemperance and drunkenness. That precisely is the nerve of this entire question, and the crisis must be squarely met with these thirty-eight quotations containing the word *Tirosh!* It

is not scholarship, but blasphemy, to stigmatize these pregnant words with such false import. To do so as some are persistently doing not only discredits their pretended learning, but exposes them to the suspicion of having a personal animus in the issue.

Our contention that *tirosh* is the name for unfermented wine is immensely strengthened by a careful survey of those texts which contain the specific Hebrew term which never means anything but fermented wine; and that word is

SHEKAR.

Whenever the Old Testament writers wish to specify a kind of wine that is always condemned and prohibited, a drink that is without any sort of doubt intoxicating, the word invariably used is *shekar*. Gesenius says that it is "any kind of intoxicating liquor." This word is found forty-two times in the Hebrew Bible: nineteen times in the verb form, and twenty-three times as a noun. To the word as a noun we direct special attention. The air is very much clarified touching the meaning of this word, for there is substantial agreement all along the line that it means intoxicating drink, and that it is always the name for fermented wine. Our English versions generally and very

appropriately render it "strong drink." There is not an instance in the Bible where this word enjoys the divine approval as the name of a beverage, nor one in which it is found keeping company with God's gracious gifts to man. An examination of the texts which follow will satisfy any candid person of the correctness of these statements:

Lev. 10:9: "Drink not wine nor strong drink." Wherever in Scripture this expression—"wine and strong drink" —is found, the Hebrew terms invariably are *yayin* and *shekar*.

Num. 28:7: "Cause the strong wine to be poured out."

Deut. 29:6: "Neither have ye drunk wine nor strong drink."

Judges 13:4: "Drink not wine nor strong drink."

Judges 13:14: "Neither let her drink wine nor strong drink."

1 Sam. 1:15: "I have drunk neither wine nor strong drink."

Prov. 20:1: "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging."

Prov. 31:4: "Not for the king to drink wine, nor princes strong drink."

Judges 13:7: "Drink no wine nor strong drink."

Prov. 31:6: "Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish." This is an opiate, anesthetic, or medical prescription; not a beverage.

Isa. 5:11: "Woe to them that follow strong drink."

Isa. 5:22: "Woe to the men that mingle strong drink."

Isa. 24:9: "Strong drink shall be bitter to them that drink it."

Isa. 28:7: "Priests and prophets have erred through strong drink" (thrice).

Isa. 29:9: "They stagger, but not with strong drink."

Isa. 56:12: "We will fill ourselves with strong drink."

Micah 2:11: "Lying spirit prophesy wine and strong drink."

Num. 28:7: "Strong wine for a drink offering." (Offered, not to be drunk.)

Deuteronomy 14:22-26 is a difficult passage, and seems to furnish an exception to the rule; but perhaps if rightly understood it does not. Prof. F. D. Hemenway, in an article in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* for July, 1878, makes this very judicious comment upon this passage: "It is among the tithes which every Hebrew must set apart to be eaten before the Lord in a solemn re-

ligious feast and as a special religious offering; and its presence here is thought to be significant of its value rather than its common use as a beverage among men." And this interpretation receives strong support from the recent English versions, from which all idea of "soul-lusting" has disappeared.

This canvass of the three important Hebrew words touches the very core of the Oriental wine question, and it is difficult to see how anything can be said that would change the situation one hair's breadth; and little need be added except what will throw further light upon and afford stronger confirmation of the doctrine here set forth. In our search for additional evidence we will interview several important witnesses, and highest among them all stands the Septuagint.

THE SEPTUAGINT.

Altogether the most valuable corroborative evidence to be found anywhere is the testimony of the Greek version of the Old Testament made by Greek-Hebrew scholars more than two hundred years before Christ. It is therefore of the utmost importance to inquire how these old Hebrews treated the words under consideration; for, let it be remembered that the Septuagint version is their embalmed opinion. Here we have their

own statement as to what *they* thought these three words meant. Following is the state of the case as it stands forever stereotyped in that ancient version:

YAYIN. This word is uniformly rendered *oinos,* which must be accepted as entirely correct, for the first is the generic term for all kinds of wine in Hebrew, precisely as the second is the generic term for all kinds of wine in Greek. One is the exact equivalent for the other.

TIROSH. This is the Hebrew name for unfermented wine, and they rendered it also with the Greek word *oinos,* except once (Isa. 65:8), with *rox,* "new wine in the cluster." This treatment introduces confusion, as the Hebrew term is specific, while the Greek term is generic. But perhaps it was the best, if not the only, thing that could be done, because the Greek language has no specific term for unfermented wine. Everything in the nature of a beverage from the vine was called *oinos.*

SHEKAR. With this word a radical change of treatment was adopted. They never once translated *shekar* with *oinos.* That is significant. That fact alone ought forever to settle the question that *tirosh* and *shekar* do not stand for the same kinds of wine. Seven times *shekar* is translated with a Greek word

coined from the verb *methuo,* which means "I am drunk." That these translators were obliged to resort to such a word to render *shekar,* is sufficient evidence of its character. Add to this the further fact that they transliterated *shekar* twelve times, making it read *sikera,* thus Hellenizing it and compelling it to retain its debauched character even in the Greek version! And in that form it appears once in the Greek New Testament (Luke 1:15).

Thus it will appear to any careful person that the overwhelming testimony of the Septuagint supports the thesis here taught, that *yayin* is the name for all beverages obtained from the vine without any reference to their quality or character; that *tirosh* is the specific term for unfermented wine; and that *shekar* is the term for all fermented and intoxicating liquors.

In view of what has here been set forth touching the exact attitude of the Old Testament upon intoxicating and unintoxicating wines, we may be pardoned if we confess to a feeling little short of surprise and pain for one's pretended scholarship who can write as one does in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, 1881, that "alcohol when taken in moderate quantity and in its natural combination, is not a poison, but is assimilated

and healthily disposed of in digestion; that *tirosh* denotes the products of the vine in general, while *yayin* always signifies the fermented juice of the grape; and to no one of the words translated 'wine' does the Bible attach an indiscriminate and absolute condemnation." It would be difficult to put into speech four statements more fraught with moral danger and downright falsehood than these; and it grieves one to think that a cyclopedia devoted to sacred learning would quote such unwarranted dicta with approval.

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The case is quite different in the New Testament from what it is in the Old, in that we have here to deal chiefly with one word instead of three. *Oinos* is the Greek word for wine, and it is the only word in that language which stands for all the products of the vine, exactly as our English word "wine" performs a similar service in our speech. Since *oinos* is the word which the Septuagint translators used to render both *yayin* and *tirosh,* it comes into the Greek New Testament charged with the double duty of representing both *yayin*—the generic for all kinds of wine in the Old Testament—and *tirosh*—the specific for unfermented wine. And since it was never used to render *shekar*

—the word for intoxicating wine—the presumption is therefore at once created that *oinos* in the New Testament should never be made to stand for fermented wine. The word was never subjected to such treatment by the Septuagint translators. We will now examine those New Testament texts where *oinos* occurs, and inquire what the testimony of this word is:

Matt. 9:17; Mark 2:22; Luke 5:37, 38: "New wine in old bottles." (Twice.) The adjective "new" introduced into these texts supports the idea that *oinos* is commonly used as a generic, the word "new" making its meaning specific. The *new* and *old* used in these passages are figures of the new and old dispensations, and can not be used in any way as putting the Savior's approval upon the use of wine.

Mark 15:23: "Gave Him to drink wine mingled with myrrh."

Luke 7:33, 34: "John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine."

Luke 10:34: "The Good Samaritan poured in oil and wine."

Rom. 14:21: "It is good neither to eat flesh nor to drink wine."

1 Tim. 3:8: "Not given to much wine." (Deacons.)

1 Tim. 5:23: "Drink a little wine for thy stomach's sake."
Titus 2:3: "Not given to much wine." (Aged women.)
Rev. 6:6: "See that thou hurt not the oil and the wine."
John 2:3; 4:46: "Jesus turned water into wine."

DID JESUS MAKE INTOXICATING WINE?

If there is but one kind of wine mentioned anywhere in Scripture, and if that is always intoxicating, then Jesus turned water into intoxicating wine; and if that be true, then fermented or intoxicating wine is a proper beverage for all. But if, on the other hand, there are two kinds of wine constantly referred to in the Old Testament, one of them fermented and the other unfermented, then the question at once arises, Which kind did Jesus make? Did He make *shekar,* intoxicating wine, which is everywhere condemned and forbidden in the Old Testament? Or did he make *tirosh,* unintoxicating wine, which is everywhere blessed and commended in the Old Testament? All a person needs is common sense and ordinary honesty to see at once that Jesus, as a devout Hebrew merely, could *not* have made a drink which

the Hebrew Bible everywhere condemns and prohibits.

It is therefore preposterous to say that Christ made, that Paul recommended, and that the deacons and aged women used *shekar,* intoxicating wine, upon which the divine frown everywhere rests. What Jesus did make and what Paul did recommend to Timothy was *tirosh,* unintoxicating wine, which always and everywhere has the divine smile and blessing upon it.

EXCEPTIONS PROVE THE RULE.

Only once in the New Testament is *oinos* spoken of with disapprobation, and then with a qualifying term, which makes it certain that the word is not used in the ordinary or generic, but in a specific sense, for intoxicating wine: "Be not drunk with wine wherein is excess." (Eph. 5:18.) The word is also used figuratively seven times in the Book of Revelation: "Wine of the wrath of God," etc.

To make it still more certain that the New Testament writers never use the single word *oinos* as a specific term for intoxicating wine, let it be observed that whenever they speak of wine that is certainly intoxicating they always resort to the use of other words than *oinos.* For such purpose we have two other

words, each used but once in the New Testament:

Luke 1:15: "John the Baptist shall drink neither wine [*oinos*] nor strong drink [*sikera*]"—same as in the Septuagint.

Acts 2:3: "Others mocking said, These men are full of new wine [*gleukos*]."

CORROBORATIVE SCRIPTURES.

What has already been said is quite sufficient to show that the entire Bible is squarely on the side of total abstinence, and unqualifiedly opposed to the beverage use of all intoxicating liquors. There are also many general declarations of Scripture which forbid wine-drinking and condemn drunkenness in most vigorous and uncompromising language; among them these:

Prov. 20:1: "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging; and whoso is deceived thereby is not wise." Truly wine is a past-master in the art of deception. Who can tell the millions of deluded souls that it has ruined!

Prov. 23:29: "Who hath woe? Who hath sorrow? Who hath contentions? Who hath babbling? Who hath wounds without cause? Who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine, they that go to seek mixed wine. Look not thou upon the wine when it

is red, when it giveth its color in the cup, when it moveth itself aright; at the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder."

Isa. 5:11: "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning that they may follow strong drink, that continue until night, until wine inflame them."

Isa. 5:11: "Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine [*yayin*], and men of strength to mingle strong drink [*shekar*]; which justify the wicked for a reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him."

Hab. 2:15, 16: "Woe to him that giveth his neighbor drink, that putteth the bottle to him and maketh him drunken also, that thou mayest look on his nakedness! Thou art filled with shame for glory . . . and shameful spewing shall be on thy glory."

Prov. 23:20, 21: "Be not among wine bibbers, among riotous eaters of flesh; for the drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty, and drowsiness shall clothe a man with rags."

Gal. 5:19-23: "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these: Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings,

murders, drunkenness, revelings, and such like; of which I tell you that they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; against such there is no law."

CONCLUSION.

This is practically the whole case as the wine question appears in the Sacred Scriptures, and it seems strange that any person can find in these records one word that favors the use of fermented wine as a beverage or that anywhere puts the divine indorsement upon the use of intoxicating drink of any kind. Total abstinence from the use of all intoxicating beverages is clearly the teaching of the Word of God. To abstain is the solemn injunction everywhere. Whoever, therefore, persists in the use of strong drink does it in point-blank defiance of the solemn warnings and positive prohibitions of the Word of God.

Part II. Prohibition the Duty of the State.

The Sacred Scriptures, which everywhere so urgently lift their warning cry against the use of strong drink, could not be expected to be indifferent to their manufacture and sale. And they are not silent here. They recognize the relation both of the individual and of society in general to the liquor traffic. They literally vomit the volcanic lava of divine wrath upon this and every other form of industry that seeks the overthrow and moral ruin of men. It will be well here to place before us in order the Scriptural injunctions as they apply, first, to the conduct of individuals, and then of society in general or the State.

DUTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

"Am I my brother's keeper?" is the whimpering cry of Cain. It is the cry of every moral coward in the world. Every man who sets his heart to do wrong to his brother or his neighbor, straightway disclaims any responsibility for his brother's welfare and justifies the cruel wrong which he does him with the cowardly cry of Cain. The individual who manufactures, sells, or in any other way provides intoxicating drink

to his neighbor, knowing that it will do him both physical and moral harm, does it in the spirit of Cain. For his wicked act there is no defense, so he defiantly repudiates his obligation to do good and not harm to his neighbor, and puts himself forever in the class of the first murderer.

The Golden Rule—that we do unto others as we would have them do unto ourselves—is another divine injunction, which, if faithfully and universally followed, would instantly and forever end all traffic in strong drink. He who provides intoxicants to his brother makes him a drunkard, robs him of health, reduces him to poverty, takes love out of his heart and hope out of his life, murders his self-respect, and turns him out a besotted and ruined man. Is that doing to our brother or our neighbor as we would have them do unto ourselves? It is not the Golden Rule, but the Rule of Greed. Its spirit is Satanic. Its reign is hell.

"Love thy neighbor as thyself," is another divine injunction that touches the very nerve of this traffic in intoxicants. The Parable of the Good Samaritan is our Lord's masterful exposition of the question as to who our neighbor is, and of our relation to him. God's Word everywhere sets forth man's obligation to his neighbor as one of

kindness, good will, and helpfulness; not of harm, hatred, injustice, oppression, and debauchery. The drink-curse forever dethrones this spirit of love to our neighbor, and enthrones drunkenness, crime, and moral wreck in its place. He who truly loves his neighbor as himself will be willing to offer his very life to save that neighbor from the curse of drink, rather than to debauch him with it. That men do recognize this principle, and that they do scent harm in drink, are fully shown in the well-nigh universal feeling that no man wants his own children to become drunkards. He who by his act is damning his neighbor and his neighbor's children revolts at thought of such a fate for his own family! How quickly would it all end if he should begin truly to love his neighbor as himself! When mankind shall enthrone this divine injunction to love our neighbor as ourselves, not as a motto to ornament a wall, but as a working principle of each human life, not only the liquor traffic, but all other forms of social sins and national crimes will vanish from the earth.

But many people are little influenced by abstract reasoning. They seem to be unable to recognize the force of inference, however direct; of implications, however patent. So the Scriptures resort to more direct and con-

crete injunctions, and occasionally speak in such pregnant terms as these: "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that putteth the bottle to him and maketh him drunken also."

OBLIGATION OF THE STATE.

The attitude of the Sacred Scriptures against all forms of sin, vice, and crime is so patent as scarcely to need restatement. The Decalogue names certain sins but to condemn and forbid them. This ancient classic of things forbidden stands at the very head of all divine and human legislation. It fixes the standard of all nations in their treatment of sin and crime. What God condemns and forbids it is safe for human governments also to prohibit. The Bible does not attempt even to catalogue all the forms of sin, nor all the devices which wicked men may invent in the ages yet to come; but it is perfectly safe to assume that whatever inflicts physical, mental, or moral harm upon human beings, the Word of God condemns and prohibits. Courts of law characterize whatever does harm to man's body, his soul, or his spirit as a nuisance; and legislative bodies have generally enacted laws to abate nuisances. The liquor traffic has all the earmarks of a nuisance, and is being recognized

by the most enlightened States as fully entitled to a conspicuous place in that class. Few advanced nations are now disposed to tolerate nuisances. Upon this point the growth of the conscience of the world is a most gratifying fact.

But here again the Scriptures have not left the matter at the mercy of ignorance or inference, but have provided some very direct and positive prohibitions: "Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood, and establisheth a city by iniquity." (Hab. 2:12.) "Woe unto them that justify the wicked for a reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him." (Isa. 5:23.) This entire passage—Isa. 5:18-23—seems to have in mind the one curse, Drink, and to utter the maledictions of God against the entire system, maker, seller, and drinker together. All are equally involved in the awful catastrophe of God's wrath and of their own final destruction.

If one can reflect seriously upon these Scriptures and not reach the conclusion that to make and sell, or to authorize the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drink, is contrary to the spirit and a violation of the letter of God's holy law, that person is capable of mental and moral processes quite exceptional. Thou shalt not drink intoxi-

cating liquors is as plain as "Thou shalt not steal." Thou shalt not furnish strong drink to thy neighbor is as unequivocal as "Thou shalt not commit adultery." Thou shalt not license the making and selling of intoxicating drink is as clearly implied in the Word of God as "Thou shalt not kill." And "he who runs may read."

SCRIPTURAL PARALLELS.

The granting of licenses to the liquor traffic for a price, for revenue to support the government, for the construction of pavements, for the erection of schoolhouses or the support of schools, is a horrible travesty upon public decency and good order. It is almost universally felt by decent people to be "blood money," and outrages the Christian conscience.

It has its parallel in the selling of Joseph by his brethren into Egyptian slavery, an act, though so long ago and so far away, yet has it never ceased to invite the scorn of mankind which its turpitude merits.

It has its parallel also in the perfidy of Judas, who sold his Lord for thirty pieces of silver. This transaction has also for nearly two thousand years held its place at the very head of the list of outrages against innocence, assassinations of friendship, and

crimes against humanity. As long as time lasts the very name of Judas will be uttered with scorn throughout the world.

It deserves to be classed with that decree of bloody Herod, who ordered the slaughter of all the little children of his kingdom in order to get rid of Him who was born King of the Jews. This dastard act has brought to the name of King Herod a crown of eternal infamy.

It deserves to be classed with that crime against the Jews in the Persian empire which was perpetrated by Haman with the vain hope of thereby being able to compass the overthrow of his political rival, Mordecai. In order to get the king to consent to this unspeakable outrage and wholesale murder, Haman cajoled the king by making him lurid promises of great revenues that should come into the king's treasury. So the liquor traffic forever promises great revenues as the price of blood and crime. Haman's great scheme collapsed. The foul crime fell at last upon his own head and crushed him into perdition. The great wrong of the liquor traffic will bring at last to every people who cherish it its lawful retribution of sin and shame and eternal sorrow.

CHAPTER III

THE MORAL ISSUE

The Immorality of Intemperance is the most pronounced outstanding menace that confronts civilization to-day. The ravages of intemperance exceed those of war, pestilence, and famine combined. That was Gladstone's testimony. The moral devastation exceeds all the others. Other moral evils, such as slavery, war, tyranny, injustice, oppression, and gambling, have afflicted the human race in nearly all ages and countries; but intemperance, like licentiousness, stands apart from these by the unique fact that indulgence in drink immediately and most seriously affects the one who uses it. These effects are physical, mental, and moral. The physical and some other effects will be considered more fully in the chapter upon the scientific phase of the question. Attention is here directed to the moral effect upon the drinker.

There are certain well-pronounced results following indulgence in strong drink which manifest themselves in the moral nature of the person himself, and among them these chiefly:

1. Drink stupefies the intellect. The brain is the organ of the mind, perhaps the very seat of the soul, the center of personality. Alcohol seeks the brain, for which it seems to have an especial affinity. Quite a large portion of the alcohol taken into the system is carried by the circulation into the brain. There it works its havoc and does its paralyzing hurt upon the most important and delicate organ of the human anatomy. When this special organ of the soul is assailed by an agent capable of producing the physical wreck that alcohol does upon the delicate structure of the human brain, should it create surprise that one's moral energies instantly become obscure or utterly vanish? This is the first, most direct, and most pronounced effect of alcohol upon the human system. It exhibits itself immediately in the utter inability of the victim to control his appetite or to limit his indulgence. This leaves the flood-gate wide open and the keeper gone. Immorality and excess run riot. The monitor of the soul is paralyzed, and nothing now halts its mad rush to destruction. He has literally "put an enemy into his stomach to steal away his brains." The pilot is dead; the ship is driven before the fury of the storm to the rocks—the "Reef of Norman's Woe!"

2. Drink weakens moral resistance. It silences the voice of conscience. By stupefying the intellect, it obliterates the moral sense accordingly. Right and wrong cease to represent moral obligations, even moral distinctions. No rational appeal can operate to deter from further indulgence in drink, nor from consenting to immoral acts, even to the commission of crimes which the soul, free from the degrading influence of drink, would immediately scorn to consider. This is the cause of the crimes that crowd the calendars of the courts and the columns of the daily papers. So utterly dehumanized is one under the influence of drink that there is a constant tendency to extenuate crime committed in that state. Men say, "It was not he, but drink, that did it." True; drink did it; but the poor victim knew it would, and therefore can not be exonerated. The moral sense of mankind can not be cajoled by such specious pleading. The man who enters a house and commits theft is a criminal, but so is also the neighbor who furnished a key to enter.

3. Drink impairs sensibility, and therefore destroys the affections of the heart. The victim loses his love for his friends—wife, husband, children, parents. All bonds of love are broken, all ties of affection are

severed in the moral wreck of drink. Not only love of home and friends, but all love for property, industry, economy, self-respect, the wish to better one's condition and the desire for people's good will—all remorselessly swept away! Herein lies the tragedy of the home and the marriage relation. This it is that crowds the divorce courts with wrecks of human happiness. One heart dies, another breaks. Drink murders love. The Chicago papers reported that nearly one hundred divorces were granted in four courts in Chicago in one day. And the judges said that drink was the cause of nearly every one of them.

4. Drink paralyzes the will. It touches not one faculty of the soul, but all its faculties. It beclouds the intellect. It obdurates the heart. It enfeebles and enshackels the will, and makes it impossible for the enslaved victim to be independent, to rise up in moral freedom, or to issue any command against the invader. All of man's moral resistance goes down before the assaults of alcohol. This condition can mean nothing less than excess, indulgence, crime, or helpless misery. Immorality or driveling idiocy can not therefore be a matter of surprise, but an indispensable necessity of brain-poisoning by alcohol.

5. Drink creates hallucinations. It makes the impoverished victim think that he is rich, imagine that he is witty, that his company is desirable, that he is capable of doing almost any impossible thing, that he can stop drinking whenever he wants to—though he never wants to! He easily persuades himself that with liquor he can do more and better work than he can do without it. He is often sure that he is being cured of ills by drink, so of course he takes it "as a medicine." He absolutely knows that he has some disorder that nothing but drink will overcome; that it is necessary for his health and without it he could neither get about nor perform his tasks. Thus the poor self-deceived dupe drinks himself into the grave and dies "cured!" In all these respects the alcohol fiend is self-deluded. The facts are that he does less work and of a poorer quality with drink than without it; that he is not better, but worse, physically; that he is not being cured but killed. Thus it truly comes to pass that "wine is a mocker; strong drink is raging; and whoso is deceived thereby is not wise."

6. Drink produces cravings for more drink. No harmless beverage nor wholesome food ever produces that effect—the inflamed demand for more! Alcoholic beverages uni-

formly lead to that result. They disturb the order of nature and create abnormal conditions. Herein is one—perhaps the chief—source of their deadly harm. What an infinite curse Providence would have put upon the race if the use of food always inflamed the passion for more, and thus created a craving for excess! But, on the contrary, wholesome food or drink taken into the system at once stops the craving and satisfies the appetite. Thus it safeguards the life instead of destroying it. Alcohol reverses all this. He who seeks to drown his trouble in drink is immediately submerged by an ocean of greater troubles. He is like the man who, finding his house empty and garnished, "went forth and took to himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself; and they entered in and dwelt there; and the last state of that man was worse than the first."

"Grief banished by wine will come again,
And come with a deeper shade,
Leaving, perchance, on the soul a stain,
Which sorrow had never made.
Then fill not the tempting glass for me;
If mournful, I will not be mad;
Better be sad because we are sinful,
Than sinful because we are sad."

—*Sir W. a'Beckett.*

7. Drink creates unrest and dissatisfaction. Life becomes weary, stale, flat, unprofitable, disgusting. The victim of drink can not get himself interested in anything. Labor wearies him. Books and study do not appeal to him. He can not concentrate his thoughts. He can not employ his mental powers upon any subject that requires intellectual activity. Life loses color, taste, hope, vim. One thing only seems worth while—drink! One thought only inspires his imagination—drink! One supreme passion only consumes him—drink! All else is profitless, humdrum, undesirable, unbearable. No moral appeal reaches him. Closed to all moral incentives, he is open to the assaults of vice and easily becomes the agent of crime. He has ceased to value his own life, why should he place a high estimate upon the lives of others—even that of his wife or his children? Life has lost its zest for him, why should he have terror for thought of life in a penitentiary? A palace or a prison, a temple or a tomb are all the same to him who has burnt out life's incense upon the altar of sensuality and animalism.

8. Drink enfeebles honesty and honor. It generally destroys them both. The drinker will lie, cheat, deceive, dissemble—anything in order to get more of that which is the

agent of his ruin. Sons otherwise honest will deceive their parents, and husbands their wives, to obtain drink, or to induce them to believe that they have not been drinking. There is almost nothing in the way of falsehood and deception that the victim of appetite for drink will not do. His moral nature is impaired, if not wrecked, and all sense of honor is correspondingly dismantled. What a sacrifice of manhood he makes who for an hour of pleasure will admit such a harmful agent into his system to wreck his life! A drug that will work such a change in man's moral nature must be held responsible for every phase of wickedness and crime that darkens the face of the earth to-day. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that from three-fourths to nine-tenths of all the immorality and misery of the civilized world are caused by the use of strong drink.

9. Drink drowns self-respect and murders manhood. When we see the finished product of drink—the thin, emaciated form, the palsied hand, the bleared or bloodshot eye, the ragged garb, the shambling gait—we do not need to ask for the cause. Drink has killed a life and wrecked a soul. When we see the poor creature sleeping in dry-goods boxes or under the sidewalks, cleaning spittoons for drinks, cringingly begging nick-

els for more liquor, we do not have to be told that manhood and honor have gone down into the sepulcher never to rise again. That poor, lost soul can be easily made the tool of vice and the agent of crime. He dare not seek for honest task nor for honorable employment. Such await him not. To grovel in the haunts of vice and to mop the floors of beer dens are all that are left to him.

10. Drink destroys the spiritual life. All moral motives that have their inspiration and support in religion weaken, dissolve, and vanish. Neither the love of God, the fear of hell, nor the hope of heaven make any appeal to the soul or exert any influence upon the conduct. Men no longer believe in God, nor do they ask for His help. All invitations based upon religion, immortality, heaven, hell, eternity, and God fall upon deaf ears and unresponsive hearts. One cup of frothing poison outweighs them all. We do not wonder, therefore, that when man's spiritual nature is dead and all his religious hopes have perished, he is at the mercy of every suggestion of vice and every temptation of crime. Such a state furnishes the fatal condition for the perpetration of wicked acts. Immorality is its very breath. Wickedness is the magnolia blossom of such planting.

DIVINE MERCY FOR LOST MEN.

When we think of the millions of drink-enslaved men, and of the thousands who pass into eternity every day, we cry, Is not this a picture of despair? Is there no trumpet to sound a note of hope to the enslaved and ruined victim of drink? Does divine resource stand baffled and helpless before this finished product of the saloon? Is the spirit of the still more potent than the Spirit of God?

We triumphantly deny it! The man in bondage may go free if he will. The victim of drink may become the victor over drink if he so elects. The crushed soul may be healed. The broken heart may be bound up. The inflamed appetite may be cooled. The wrecked nerves may be reinvigorated. The Great Physician is not unwilling to undertake nor unable to cure all who come by faith to Him.

"Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and He will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for He will abundantly pardon." "He is able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God by Him." "Him that cometh unto Me I will in no wise cast out."

The drunkard's case is desperate, but he need not despair. His sin is unto death, but he shall live if he but ask it with all his heart. Though drink burn his soul with the very fires of hell, Jesus Christ who tasted death for every man can put out those fires with the water of life. "Ho, every one that thirsteth! Come ye to the waters. Buy the wine and milk of the gospel without money and without price." He who made the body certainly knows how to repair it when wrecked with drink. He who created and redeemed the soul knows how to cleanse it from all sin and to present it faultless before the throne of God.

Let no drunkard therefore despair. He can be saved if he wants to; and he will be saved if he asks to. Accept Jesus Christ as the Savior from sin, from drink, from appetite, and from hell, and thou shalt live. And fear not. Come quickly, for He hath said, "Him that cometh unto Me I will in *no wise cast out!*"

MORAL CENSUS OF DRINK.

The United States Government seems averse to statistics of immorality. It does not care to catalogue the crimes of its people. So we are obliged to go elsewhere than to the Census Bureau for the ghastly record.

Newsgatherers, court records, and clippings bureaus must be appealed to for the sad tale. While these are not always complete nor exactly reliable, yet they are about the only sources of information we have, and upon them we must rely until more accurate knowledge is supplied. Based upon these and similar sources of information, we charge strong drink with guilt for the long catalogue of crimes which follows—America's annual tribute to Gambrinus:

Nearly three thousand infants are annually smothered in bed by drunken parents who wallow on them like swine. Bloody Herod is still at his work and slaughtering more innocents each year in our country than Rachael ever wept over in Judea.

There are about five thousand suicides annually caused by strong drink. When one comes fully to realize that his health, his fortune, his honor, his good name, are all gone, that love is dead and life's dream is an horrible nightmare, how easily snaps the brittle cord!

There are nearly one thousand wives annually murdered by drunken husbands. O, the tragedy of drink! The wreck of home! The murder of love! There are about nine thousand other murders caused more or less directly by strong drink, making an annual

round-up of about ten thousand! Whose cheek does not burn with shame, whose soul is not unspeakably saddened by this exhibit? Christian America petting a system of wholesale murder!

Strong drink robs forty thousand wives of their husbands annually. In the old half-civilized days, when Chivalry was on the throne, and Knighthood was in flower, the wives, mothers, children, and homes were safe; but in these more civilized and—shall we confess it?—more degenerate days we have exposed our homes, our wives, our mothers, and our children to a conscienceless horde of grog-mongers to rob and ruin and murder them!

Drink is responsible for the ruin of sixty thousand girls each year. They are taken to dance halls, theaters, wine suppers, beer gardens; finally to saloons, upon steamboat excursions and Sunday beer picnics. Drink flows everywhere; intellect is stupefied; conscience is hushed; moral resistance is paralyzed; on to the brothel and out to the dark river of death! A brief four years of sin and suffering and sorrow generally begins and ends the awful tragedy. Close beside the saloon are the gambling den and the haunt of the scarlet woman. They all flourish together, and all lead downward to the same hell.

About one hundred thousand yearly begin a life of crime because of drink. This ghastly fact excites no wonder from any quarter. Why should it? Does not drink rob one of both the desire and the capacity for earning an honest living? Do not drink and drunkenness furnish all the incentives and moral conditions for the commission of crime?

It is justly believed that about one hundred thousand mental wrecks—persons born idiots, or who become insane—are the annual output of America's grog-shops and gin-mills. Probably twice that number annually take their places in the pauper ranks and start on the down-grade to the social dump, prisoners of drink. Our poor-houses are as crowded as are our jails with these unfortunate multitudes.

Behold the army of drink-murdered men who annually crowd the gang-plank to the drunkard's doom! One every five minutes; twelve every hour; three hundred every day; according to latest estimates it far exceeds one hundred thousand every year! When a theater burned in one of our great cities and six hundred men, women, and children were suffocated and roasted alive in one hour, the whole Nation shuddered. We seemed to hear the helpless screams of the children, and see

them beating their torn hands against windows and doors that were barred against them, and our aching hearts almost broke with sympathetic horror—six hundred in one hour! But the saloons of this country murder six hundred every two days! And since the six hundred perished in the Iroquois Theater seven years ago, the saloons have murdered seven hundred thousand! Still the conscience of the Nation sleeps while with ever-increasing numbers the awful procession moves on.

No saloon can thrive without making new recruits. Young men must be gotten to fill the ranks depleted by death, for drinkers die early. If each of our quarter of a million of saloons could recruit only two men and two boys each year for the ranks of Gambrinus—a conservative estimate, we judge—the sum total would be one million American citizens started on the down-grade to drunkenness, moral ruin, and eternal death. This is the work these recruiting stations are doing all the time, protected by the State and safeguarded by the Stars and Stripes.

Form a procession of these of the sad eyes and broken hearts and ruined hopes. Play the Dead March in Saul as they pass, tramp, tramp, tramp, keeping step to the solemn drum-beat of death: the three thou-

sand smothered babies, the one thousand murdered wives, the five thousand suicides, the nine thousand murdered men, the forty thousand broken-hearted widows, the sixty thousand ruined girls, the one hundred thousand beginners in crime, the one hundred thousand idots and insane, the one hundred thousand drink-murdered men, the two hundred thousand paupers, the one million recruits; give each one yard of space on which to walk, and they will make a procession more than nine hundred miles long. The first one would arrive at Chicago before the last one left New York—one million six hundred and eighteen thousand drink-ruined and sin-crushed human souls, every one of whose condition is as bad as, or worse than, DEATH! This is our country's annual offering to the god of drink. This is the yearly tribute our Nation pays for the unspeakable privilege of keeping her saloons!

To this dolorous procession add the one million brewers, saloon-keepers, and drunkard-makers, and it will extend the line far beyond Omaha. Arch the awful highway with a rainbow fringed with black. Let it rest high on the Allegheny Mountains. Write on it in great letters of scarlet, "No drunkard nor drunkard-maker shall enter the Kingdom of God!" Then, and not till

then, would the full malignant import of this accursed traffic dawn on human vision.

SOCIAL MORAL ASPECTS OF DRINK.

There is another moral aspect of the drink question: the public moral harm which it produces. It affects society in almost every respect and is a moral disturber in nearly all the relations of life. We observe its demoralizing influence—

1. Upon our social life. It dulls the keen edge of that which is brightest and best in our personal fellowships. Moral relations and spiritual experiences take feeble hold upon those who have acquired the fatal fascination of drink. Faith declines, spirituality is lost, ideals are lowered or abandoned, life's program is a compromise, secularity and worldliness, not to say downright sin, dominate society. The very age becomes materialistic and pleasure-loving, and the glory of high ideals gives way to the gratification of sense and passion. The social world abandons homes for rooming-houses and restaurants. The theater is substituted for the prayer-meeting, champagne dinners for the church of God, auto-rides and Sabbath desecration for sainthood and salvation. This is the wreck that drink ever makes when once admitted into good company. The

whole moral tone becomes drink-debauched and antagonistic to truth and virtue. Social life suffers a moral slump.

2. Upon our business life. Nowhere in the world is the influence of drink more pronounced than upon our industrial life and character. Drink-muddled brains doing business; insane men driving bargains; self-deceived lunatics planning industrial enterprises; insolvent men delirious with the fancy that they are rich; gin-crazed guzzlers wrecking all honest business methods,—these are a perpetual menace and constantly work harm to the industry of the country. The reign of rum in business means plungers, dare-devils, frenzied financiers. Can one expect less than that business methods should become deranged, and that moral and financial wrecks would ensue?

This state of things forces the most lucrative employments and the leading business enterprises out of the hands of the multitudes who have become disqualified by drink, into the hands of the few who keep clear eye and steady nerve and healthy brain from being beslimed by the serpent. Thus drink furnishes the chief contribution to those conditions that cause the rich to become richer and the poor poorer, and for the despairing cry that the wealth of the country is fast

passing into the hands of the few while the many starve. Banish drink, and how quickly would the business and industrial world seek a new alignment and rise to a new level!

Much of the business of a community is kept at the low level of the saloon. Bargains and beer bottles intermingle. The man who will not treat is immediately treated with disdain. The man who will not drink is ostracised and boycotted. Grog reigns supreme. It forgets no slight and forgives no injury. Whoever does not bow down to this juggernaut is financially crushed. To be a man is to be lonesome. To be a keg or a jug is to be a king among guzzlers. Such is the state of business in every community that is dominated by the saloon and demoralized by drink. Wherever business men drink, business becomes drunk. The industrial whole can not hope to escape the business unit.

Thus drink robs men of their best—their best in business, their best in commerce, their best in science, their best in art, their best in literature, their best in statesmanship, their best in patriotism. Robert Burdette says that "the Declaration of Independence was not written on Sunday afternoon in a beer-dive by a jugful!"

3. Upon our political life. Bad as drink

demoralizes our social life and debases our business life, its influence upon our political life is most Satanic of all. This is chiefly due to the fact that the liquor traffic can exist and flourish only by the protection of the Government. It is therefore in politics for its life, and drinking-places become the logical recruiting stations for candidates, the meeting-places for politicians, and the storm-centers of political agitation. Every satellite in the political system revolves around the saloon as its center of attraction. And the saloon dominates men as the sun dominates the planets. Here political slates are made. Here political aspirants are groomed and foisted upon the unsuspecting voters. Here official favors are promised, votes are bought, and political deals are made. Every moral purpose is drowned with liquor, and every transaction is saturated with drink. This is the home of Gambrinus, the hot-house of political schemes.

This being the situation, what wonder that the city is badly governed; that the police department is corrupt; that thieves, gamblers, brothels, and saloons are protected in defiance of law; that drink-ruled cities defy the laws of the State; that graft dishonors most of the city officials; that public service means boodle; that contracts are

often let to the highest bidder, and that the most incompetent and the most dishonest generally get the job; that the people have a millstone of taxation always tied around their necks; that the honest citizen is filched, robbed, burdened with taxation, and left with practically no protection and no redress? That is the reign of rum the world over. Such is the batch of municipal wickedness and civic crimes that must always be set down to its credit. And what is the most serious and appalling feature of a drink-ruled city is that it always develops a "system" which becomes too great and strong for one man, or even few men, to stand up against. He who attempts to reform it is crushed. It can be overcome and dethroned only by the volcanic energy of the entire community.

4. Upon the units of our political life. That means the voting citizens. Does one imagine that the moral hurt of the liquor traffic stops with the drinker, the drunkard, and the drunkard-maker? Nay, verily! It filches from the voting citizens his manhood and his honor whenever it cajoles him into its political support. By what occult witchery of magic can one bring himself to feel that he is blameless from the curse of the traffic when voting either directly to license it or

with a party that is committed to the license policy? A vote either way accomplishes that result, and without that voter's consent the curse could not be enthroned and barricaded by law. Is he therefore blameless? Not by any principle in the universe!

A man's vote is his voice in government. What he says by his vote he wants the government to be and to do. The government is the aggregate of such votes. If the government does wrong, the blame is with those voters who have installed that government by their votes. And whoever does not by his vote protest against that wrong is *particeps criminis* in the wrong. His voting protest may be all the power he has to array against the wrong; but by the power of all worlds he is bound to protest, or the sin will stain his soul. Every time he casts a vote against the saloon or a party committed to the saloon policy, he utters his protest against that wrong. And the man who says that such a vote is lost is a benighted idiot or a moral imbecile. Silence gives consent. To refuse to vote at all is to assent to the crime. The ballot is the only power an American freeman has to withhold or refuse that consent. The fact is that no citizen, no municipality, no State can enter into any possible relation with the liquor traffic

and escape its stain upon the soul. "It can never be legalized without sin," and it never is licensed without sinners!

The very laws that support the traffic or provide for its continuance are a source of immorality and the breeders of anarchy. The law which makes the government a bulwark of vice, and thus extends a protectorate over things intrinsically wicked, merits contempt. Said the *New Voice:* "When a State or a municipality, professing to rest its political system upon the fundamental charter of American liberty, legalizes vice and crime, sells license to create domestic discord and public robbery, that State by that act strikes at the very fundamentals of government and puts before the people an object lesson of anarchy high as heaven and loud as thunder."

No one has put the moral harm of the traffic and the laws that propose to furnish it legal protection in terms more calm and true and forceful than did William McKinley in 1874:

"We need scarcely remind you that the liquor traffic, which is sought to be legalized by the license section, is one that deeply concerns not only the honor of this great State, but also the material, moral, and social interests of all the people. There is not a home or hamlet in the land that is beyond its

influence. The evils are widespread and far-reaching.

"Consider what the consequences will be if this license section carries. *First,* we will legalize this great wrong. We will give the sanction of the Constitution and the law of this great, free, and intelligent State to this most degrading and ruinous of all human pursuits, so that men who are spreading ruin and death may say to all protesters, 'Stand aside; my business has received the sacred sanction of the law, and is therefore legal and right.' Can we afford thus legally to sanction a great wrong? *Second,* by legalizing this traffic we agree to share with the liquor seller the responsibilities and evils of his business. Every man who votes for license becomes of necessity a partner to the liquor traffic and all its consequences."

THE COURT OF PUBLIC OPINION.

The liquor traffic is on trial for its moral character in the Court of Public Opinion as never before. If our arraignment of it be just, we should expect that similar views and corresponding aversions, not to say hatreds, would have found expression from Christian men in every walk of life. And here our expectation is fully met. We introduce a few witnesses to show how other men feel about

this vicious traffic and what they have said touching its immoral character.

It would be difficult to find nobler utterances than those of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of 1908. Quoting and endorsing the language of the Episcopal Address, they say: "There must not be any reaction from the wrath with which all good and Christian citizens pursue this lawbreaking and murderous traffic. It deserves neither charity nor mercy. There is no law it will keep, no pledge it will honor, nor child it will not taint, no woman it will not befoul, no man it will not degrade. It falsely claims to be a great public interest because it employs thousands and pays heavy taxes. But no money in the pockets of employees and no taxes in the treasury of the city, county, State, or Nation can balance the monetary losses of the Nation through this traffic. No profits, however real or immense, can compensate for the corruption of our politics, the emptiness of the drunkard's home, or the fullness of prisons and graves.

"Enlightened citizenship and vital piety demand the utter destruction of a traffic so accursed. The liquor traffic can not be reformed. It is inherently unreformable. An institution which outrages the divine law of love will never obey the police regulations of

men. Therefore it must be destroyed, and with our bishops, we 'pledge eternal enmity to this foe of God and man.' Our purpose is its extinction; our battle-cry, 'A saloonless country, a stainless flag!' "

The courts have seemed to vie with each other in their efforts to give the liquor traffic a bad name. They have been very pronounced and uniform in their denunciations of the saloon. They have almost exhausted the arts of speech in their endeavor to show up its brutal and infamous character. A volume of these burning characterizations could easily be collected; but one, selected almost at random, will suffice. In Volume 123, U. S., the Supreme Court says:

"It is not necessary, for the sake of justifying the State legislation, to array the appalling statistics of misery, pauperism, and crime which have their origin in the use or abuse of ardent spirits; for we can not shut out of view the fact, within the knowledge of all, that the public health, the public morals, and the public safety may be endangered by the general use of intoxicating drinks; nor in the fact, established by statistics accessible to every one, that the idleness, disorder, pauperism, and crime existing in the country are, in some degree, at least, traceable to this evil."

In his great debate with Mayor Rose, of Milwaukee, Samuel Dickie said: "I say to you the traffic is itself a lawbreaker. It murdered George C. Haddock out in Iowa because he dared oppose it. It shot down Robert D. Gambrill in Jackson, Miss., because he dared to speak an honest man's thoughts about the bad business. It dynamited the home of Mr. Mayhew in Iowa because he had the courage to stand against a traffic that was cursing his neighbors and his friends. It killed Senator Carmack in Tennessee because he dared to espouse the cause of truth and womanhood. And I stand here to say that to-day the great organized liquor traffic of this country is a deceiver and a fraud and a liar and forger and a murderer and a cheat everywhere, and it ought to be suppressed."

The opinions of the Roman Catholic Church are generally uttered by its chief ministers, a large number of whom have gone on record against the immoral character of the liquor traffic. Hear Cardinal Manning:

"The drink traffic is a public, permanent, and ubiquitous agency of degradation to the people of these realms. The drink trade of England has a sleeping partner which gives it effectual protection; every successive government raises at least a third of its budget by the trade in drink. The drink-trade is

our shame, scandal, and sin, and unless brought under the will of the people, it will be our downfall."

Archbishop John J. Keane says: "As a man and a Christian I say, 'Damn the saloons!' If I could cause the earth to open and swallow up every saloon in the world, I would feel that I was doing humanity a blessing. We must protest against this thing. It has no redeeming feature. It is bad for the home, for humanity, for the Church, and for the country."

Men in all walks of life—ministers, editors, publicists, and statesmen—have borne testimony against the moral outlaw. Amidst the roar of multitudinous voices condemning the saloon, scarcely one has ever been lifted in defense of the accursed traffic. More than one hundred and fifty years ago John Wesley said: "All who sell liquor in the common way to any that will buy are poisoners general. They murder His Majesty's subjects by wholesale, neither does their eye pity. They drive men to hell like sheep."

Said the eloquent Henry W. Grady: "The saloon is the mortal enemy of peace and order, the despoiler of men and the terror of women, the cloud that shadows the face of the children, the demon that has dug more graves and sent more souls to judgment than

all the pestilences that have wasted life since God sent the plagues to Egypt, and all the wars since Joshua stood before Jericho."

Senator Carmack of Tennessee, whom the liquor fraternity murdered, said: "I am weary of saloon domination. I am weary of the saloon's open alliance with vice, its open contempt of law. I am weary of a condition of things where the man whose business it is to make the laws must hold his office by consent of the man whose business it is to break the laws."

"When the road to political preferment leads through the gin-mill, popular government is a farce and its end is likely to be a tragedy," is the way Joseph Cook put it. Henry Watterson testifies that "every office, from President down, is handed out over the saloon counter."

When he was police commissioner of New York, Theodore Roosevelt said: "The most powerful saloon-keeper controlled the politicians and the police, while the latter in turn terrorized and blackmailed all other saloon-keepers. If the American people do not control it, it will control them. The saloon tends to produce criminality in the population at large and lawbreaking among the saloon-keepers themselves. When the liquor men are allowed to do as they wish, they

are sure to debauch, not only the body social, but the body politic also."

"A cruel old King from a castle strong,
Has reigned in the world for ages long;
He has marched in wrath through the frightened years,
And laughed at humanity's pitiful tears,—
But we'll bury him deeply down.

"This tyrant has ruled with an iron hand,
He has robbed and destroyed in every land;
He has pierced old age with a poisoned thrust,
And trampled the glory of youth in the dust,—
But we'll bury him deeply down.

"The widow and orphan have felt his stroke,
The strong and the brave have worn his yoke;
He has poured from the bottomless springs of hate,
A curse on the home, on the Church and the State,—
But we'll bury him deeply down.

"Bury him down, deeply down;
This fierce old King with his serpent crown;
He shall reign no more in city or town,
For, we'll bury him deeply down!"

—*H. S. Taylor.*

What strange fellowships the saloon makes! What moral distinctions it obscures

or utterly obliterates! What prostitution of otherwise good citizens to the god of greed! What a travesty upon patriotism and philanthropy is this cajoling of "good" men into its support! Seen through the blear eyes of the drink demon, the moral law becomes a farce and the moral universe a phantasm. What a day of reckoning is coming!

The saloon is the house that Jack built.

The saloon-keeper keeps the house that Jack built.

The license law is the thing that allows the saloon-keeper to keep the house that Jack built.

The legislator is the man who made the law that allows the saloon-keeper to keep the house that Jack built.

The voter is the man who voted to elect that legislator to make the law that allows that saloon-keeper to keep the house that Jack built.

The Christian voter who voted for that legislator to make the law that allows that saloon-keeper to keep the house that Jack built must bear his full share of responsibility for the sin and crime committed in the house that Jack built.

If the keeper of the house that Jack built shall at last be damned for the crimes he has committed, the homes he has wrecked, and

the human souls he has ruined, what a joy it will be in heaven for that legislator and that Christian voter to look down upon the utter ruin of the house that Jack built, and to remember that the keeper of the house that Jack built, who was protected by that law, that voter, and that legislator, is writhing in eternal torments as he deserves!

What a sweet heaven it will be for them!

GROWTH OF MORAL SENTIMENT

It seems appropriate, in closing this chapter upon the moral issue of the temperance reform, to direct attention to the evolution of moral ideas upon this as upon almost every other subject. The moral sentiment of mankind upon the drink question has been steadily changing for more than half a century past, and men look upon drinking and upon the manufacture and traffic in alcoholic beverages quite differently than they did even a quarter of a century ago. It is but a century since dueling was held in such public respect that, in the language of Daniel Dorchester, "we had become a Nation of murderers by tolerating and honoring the perpetrators of the crime." Aaron Burr killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel, and as Vice-President, continued to preside over the Senate of the United States. Would such

a presiding officer be tolerated now? The moral sentiment of mankind has so changed and advanced upon that subject that such an act in official life would not be condoned in any civilized country of the world to-day. So also has public opinion concerning lotteries been revised. It is but a generation ago that lotteries were licensed in some States. Continental Congress authorized a National lottery and passed no less than seventy acts authorizing lotteries for schools, roads, and other public enterprises. Colleges were endowed and churches maintained by this means. Faneuil Hall in Boston was once repaired with funds obtained in this way. But moral sentiment upon that subject has so far advanced that nearly every State has forbidden lotteries and the Government has excluded all lottery business from the United States mails. Human slavery was well-nigh universal throughout the world a century ago, while to-day there is not a civilized nation on earth that tolerates it. The moral sentiment of mankind has entirely outgrown it. By the same token war is passing away. The growth of the sentiment of peace among all nations makes it certain that all national disputes will be arbitrated in the court of conscience rather than upon the field of carnage. Our multimillionaires have dur-

ing several years past been the targets of searching criticism and of bitter scorn for business methods that were generally thought to be perfectly legitimate a quarter of a century ago. A higher morality in business is now demanded. The whole Nation is waking up, and the very methods by which vast fortunes are amassed have become the legitimate concern of all the people. Upon this subject the conscience of the Nation has become sensitive and responsive.

Is it any wonder that such an age should demand that the drinking customs which have for so many centuries debased and embruted mankind, should also be revised? It is not enough to say that shepherds on the Oriental plains drank and were still virtuous and simple. While stupid with drink, the wolf might have stolen a lamb; but no serious harm came to the drinker, and drunkenness was looked upon with kindly toleration. But to-day the drunkard in public life digs his own political grave. The drunkard in private life is ostracised from decent society; the drunken banker is quickly wrecked; the drunken merchant is doomed to failure; the drunken sea-captain becomes a pirate; the drunken conductor is a criminal; the drunken engineer is a murderer. It is not enough to exhibit the mug out of which Lu-

ther drank his beer, nor the decanters out of which they poured New England rum at baptisms, installations, weddings, and funerals. Following the ungodly example of these godly men has dug millions of graves for drunkards; and so long as blind guzzlers are willing to be led by equally blind shepherds of a drunken past, so long will drink dig the graves of millions more. There has been in recent years a tremendous growth of moral sentiment upon this subject of drink. He who heeds it and yields to its influence is safe; he who disregards and rejects it passes swiftly on to his final doom.

CHAPTER IV

THE FINANCIAL QUESTION

This phase of the drink problem affects the individual, the community, and the Nation. There is little in this life that has not vital relation to finance and economics. The liquor traffic has its tap-root in money. Were it not for the financial profits in it, the business would come to an end quickly. Indeed, its phenomenal growth needs no other explanation than its phenomenal profits. If the drink business should languish, the drink practice would enormously shrink and probably soon disappear. The awful pressure of the trade forces it everywhere possible, and nearly submerges many communities with intemperance.

In all legitimate business the demand creates the supply; in liquor the supply creates the demand. While this is true of luxuries generally, it finds its intensest expression in the matter of drink. This difference is greatly exaggerated in case of intoxicants because of the fact that they produce certain definite and harmful changes, both in man's

physical and psychological nature; changes which other luxuries seldom if ever produce. This quality alone would seem quite sufficient to place strong drink in a class by itself, and to place upon its sale a ban that is never elsewhere imposed.

FINANCIAL EFFECT UPON THE INDIVIDUAL

The practical and serious question is, What will drink do to the drinker financially? It will take his cash. He may not deliberately choose to become a spendthrift, but he will quickly learn that the path to the saloon is a toboggan-slide down into financial ruin. Every hour accelerates his speed; every fresh offering hurries forward his overthrow. He would be thought a very moderate drinker who consumed but three drinks daily; but even that small amount, at five cents each, would cost him fifty-four dollars and seventy-five cents a year. What would be the financial difference to a young man whether he take or omit that amount for ten years? If he omits the drink and daily saves that amount, and continues to do so for ten years, placing upon interest yearly the amount thus saved, he will have eight hundred and twenty-five dollars and forty-nine cents; at the end of twenty years his fortune would be two thousand, three hundred

and forty-nine dollars! His character of integrity and honesty, his habits of economy and industry, together with the cash saved, will place him in a position to own property, enter business, and command respect.

Instead of saving fifteen cents a day, suppose he had spent that very moderate amount daily for drink, how long will it be before he is financially "down and out," credit gone, economy spoiled, industry squandered, honesty impaired, public confidence forfeited? His financial opportunity drowned in a glass of grog. A vast majority of those who take that course become fit only for the most undesirable positions in life. If they do not become tramps, they must take the hard jobs that are left. Comfortable homes, happy families, honorable stations, prosperous business—all these are forever beyond their reach. Stores, banks, railroads, manufacturing establishments will not employ them in positions of honor and responsibility and profit. It follows almost as surely as the night follows the day that the person who begins a course of what is popularly called "moderate drinking" will go on steadily from bad to worse, from little to much, until his daily expenditure alone would imperil any man's fortune. There has never been, there never can be, but one end to such a

beginning—poverty and the potter's field. This is the serious situation which the drinker must always face; and few among all the multitudes of men can stand up against the demoralizing influence of drink and maintain their manhood and their integrity. Most drinkers begin to deteriorate morally as soon as they begin to drink. That means loss both of money and manhood. The loss of fortune is an almost inevitable necessity. The nearly universal testimony of mankind would be that it is about as easy to separate the light and heat of the sun as to separate drink and poverty. One would as soon expect to find figs growing upon thistles as to find prosperity and comfort in the home of the drunkard.

FINANCIAL EFFECT UPON THE COMMUNITY.

The financial phases of the liquor question touch the community in several ways. First, in the matter of trade. Each member of the community has an income of a certain amount, great or small. If he spends that income, or a large part of it, for drink, he does not spend it for food, clothing, and other necessaries and comforts for himself or his family. He either does not purchase goods at all or, if he purchase them, he does

not pay for them; and thus the people in business are harmed by either small sales or bad debts. Thus the drink-curse ramifies and disturbs, if it does not utterly destroy, all classes of legitimate business and trade. Wherever it exists it is a source of mischief, a foe to fortune, and a despoiler of business. Ask the merchant in any drinking community why he does not sell more goods to the citizens, and the answer will be—drink! Ask him why his books are loaded down with the records of bad debts and uncollectable bills, and the inevitable answer will be—drink! In view of this practically axiomatic truth, one wonders why business men often become so oblivious to their own financial interests as to array themselves on the side of the license system. "Wine is a mocker." The god of drink still has power to blind men's eyes.

But here again the innocent suffer the penalty due to the guilty. Those who do buy goods and pay for them are constantly paying enough more for them to cover the loss sustained because of the drunkard's bad debts. Thus the sober are all the time paying the debts of the drunkards. When they shall refuse to do this, business itself will come to an end. Thus the accursed liquor

traffic has its financial halter around the throat of every man in the community, whether he wills it or not.

"SALOONS A SOURCE OF REVENUE TO THE TOWN."

The supporters of the saloon system are never weary of telling the people that the liquor traffic is a source of revenue to the city; that it puts large sums of money in license fees into the city treasury, and thus saves the citizens much burdensome taxation. This is its strong plea, the sheet-anchor of its hope in every no-license tempest. But the infernal regions never hatched up a bigger nor a blacker lie. Take a concrete example:

The writer was invited to take part in a no-license campaign in a certain town in Indiana. When he arrived upon the scene he found the temperance people quite disturbed over an appeal which the liquor folks had just published in the city papers, in which appeal they founded their claim to a right to remain in business in that community entirely upon the business which they did, and the financial benefit which they contributed to the community. The city had a population of sixteen thousand, and there were sixty saloons and one brewery. In their published statement they enumerated license fees, rents both

for places of business and for homes, men employed, horses, harness, wagons, blacksmithing, water, gas and electric light bills, going even so far as to catalogue the freight bills paid to the railroads. All these aggregated one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, which they claimed was their contribution to the business and financial benefits of the city.

At once we proceeded to set up a counter statement of the financial loss which the traffic caused the city to suffer. Sixty saloons, each taking from the people not less than twenty-five dollars a day for three hundred days, amounted to four hundred and fifty thousand dollars, for which the people received absolutely no benefit. The indirect cost—crime, pauperism, sickness, loss of labor, accidents—could not be less than half the direct cost, and that would make an additional two hundred and twenty-five thousand. Then, while the people are paying out four hundred and fifty thousand dollars annually for drink, and half as much more to take care of its wreckage, they are not patronizing the stores, the markets, the factories, and the furniture establishments very much; so here is another indirect loss to the financial activity of the city of not less than two hundred and twenty-five thousand more.

Putting these three sums together, we have nine hundred thousand dollars! That is what the liquor traffic cost that town, and in return they got one hundred and sixty thousand dollars! That meant that every time the saloon contributed one dollar's benefit to the town, the town suffered a loss of six dollars! One dollar in, and six dollars out—that is exactly the way that the saloon always benefits a town. But the poverty, want, suffering, heartache, and despair can never be put into a financial column. No town of sixteen thousand people can support a brewery and sixty saloons and have happy homes, well-fed and well-clothed children at the same time. As the saloons rise in power and splendor the homes sink in squalor and want.

Do we fully appreciate the financial burdens of crime caused by the saloon to every community where it is allowed to exist? Take a typical case, so common as to be almost unnoticed: Two young men, lifelong friends, enter a saloon together and begin to drink. Presently a quarrel starts between them; anger arises; blows are exchanged; a shot is fired; one is dead, the other is a murderer! A murder trial follows which costs the county several thousand dollars. But it is all soon forgotten by the public. Our crim-

inal courts are loaded down with such records—perpetual testimonials of the "great financial benefit" of the liquor traffic! The taxpayers foot the bills, go home and indulge in a few sulphurous explosions of profanity against the liquor traffic, then march to the polls on the very first occasion and vote a license ticket! "What fools we be!"

FINANCIAL COST TO THE NATION.

Not until recent years have the census reports aided us very much in making up these estimates. In the absence of these reports matters of this kind were estimates based upon the Nation as a unit, and made by experts who sought the most reliable information available. At the present time these reports and estimates substantially agree in placing the annual retail cost of liquors drank in this country a long way above one and one quarter billion dollars.

The American Grocer, at the request of the United States Treasury Department, in 1887 made an estimate of the retail cost of the liquors consumed in this country that year. Another estimate was made the same year by Edward Atkinson, of Boston. These estimates, together with the figures in the Statistical Abstract issued from year to year by the United States Government, affording

us the most reliable sources of information upon this subject, give us the following exhibit of the retail liquor traffic in this country for thirty years. We believe this table to be approximately correct and reliable. Estimates for the years between 1878 and 1888 can not be easily furnished; but since the latter date we have the annual exhibit, as follows:

RETAIL LIQUOR TRAFFIC FOR TWENTY YEARS.

Year.	Population.	Retail Cost.	Per Capita.	Gallons.
1878	47,598,000	$453,278,770	$9.52	8.24
1888	59,974,000	818,087,725	13.64	14.65
1889	61,289,000	840,880,849	13.72	14.60
1890	62,622,250	902,645,867	14.41	15.53
1891	63,844,000	979,582,803	15.34	16.72
1892	65,086,000	1,014,894,364	15.59	17.13
1893	66,349,000	1,079,483,172	16.27	18 20
1894	67,632,000	1,024,621,491	15.15	16.95
1895	68,934,000	970,947,333	14.09	16.57
1896	70,254,000	962,094,975	13.69	17.12
1897	71,592,000	993,203,557	13.87	16.50
1898	72,947,000	1,041,562,868	14.28	17.37
1899	74,318,000	1,070,689,978	14.41	16.32
1900	76,303,387	1,172,226,614	15.36	17.69
1901	77,647,000	1,219,997 990	15.71	17.91
1902	79,008,000	1,347,783,644	17.06	19.49
1903	80,372,000	1,410,610 218	17.55	19.98
1904	81,752,000	1,463.678,530	17.90	20.35
1905	83,143,000	1,465,901,664	17.63	20.38
1906	84,216,433	1,608,021,917	19.09	22.26
1907	85,817,239	1,757,307,854	20.48	23.54
1908	87,189,392	1,675,838,197	19.22	23.00
1909	88,566,034	1,683,547,864	18.50	22.98
1910	91,972,266	1,752,109,635	19.05	22.24
1911	93,186,277	1,806,454,266	19.85	23.28

What a disgraceful record of animal passion and indulgence by an enlightened and Christian Nation! The phenomenal growth of our liquor bill is appalling. It looks as if the Nation, or at least a vast portion of it, is to be submerged beneath an ocean of drink.

Our population has doubled during these thirty years, but our drink bill has nearly quadrupled. Then our drink bill averaged $9.52 for each inhabitant; now it is $19.22. Then the quantity of drink consumed averaged eight and one-quarter gallons a year for each inhabitant; now it averages twenty-three gallons! There can be but one outcome to this. Unless we halt and reform, as Rome did not, we can not hope to escape her fate. We seem to be in danger of being engulfed in a sea of drunkenness and ruin. May Heaven give us wisdom to see our danger and spare us such a fate!

Why should we fear to sound the alarm? Babylon fell in a night of drunken revelry and debauch. It was but a tragic climax for which her vices and corruptions had long been preparing. Alexander lost his crown and kingdom and life through drink. Rome was submerged by an ocean of drunkenness and moral corruption. Fifty years ago France had the reputation of being one of the most temperate countries in Europe; today she has the unenviable reputation of being one of the most drunken, and her statesmen are casting about anxiously, almost frantically, for some remedy, as they plainly see that her population is deteriorating both in numbers and quality. They recognize that unless the nation halts and reforms, France

will surely lose her step in the march of nations. It means loss of military and naval prestige, loss of commercial and manufacturing supremacy, and loss of political influence. It was drink that disgraced Russia and enabled Japan to crush and humiliate her. The giant Russia drunk was no match for the dwarf Japan sober. The wise Emperor of Germany is sounding the alarm to his army and navy. Shall our Nation heed the warning in time, or shall we go on in our mad career of ever-increasing indulgence till the fiery letters that Belshazzar saw on his palace wall shall flame out our doom?

It is often said that the indirect cost of drink—pauperism, crime, accidents, disease, loss of labor, and so forth—equals the direct cost. Wishing to be safe in our estimates, we will not adopt that ratio, though we believe that it can not possibly be less than half of the direct cost. Upon that basis America's annual financial loss by drink would be, in round numbers, two billion five hundred million dollars! Perhaps we can better apprehend this enormous sum if we compare it with some other familiar things.

America annually pays out about four hundred and fifty-five million dollars for bread and everything made of flour; which means that every time we pay one dollar for

bread we pay five and one-half dollars for strong drink! A labor strike was on in Chicago, and many thousands of people paraded the streets one Sunday morning with bands and banners and placards, upon one of which was the legend, "Our children cry for bread!" Then the vast multitude marched out into one of the parks and drank seven hundred and fifty barrels of beer!

Our country annually pays out something like two hundred and fifty millions of dollars for education of all grades; which means that every time we pay out one dollar for education we pay ten dollars for strong drink. The Churches of this country cost annually about one hundred and sixty million dollars; that means that every time we pay out one dollar for the gospel we pay out about fifteen dollars and a half for strong drink. America believes in the gospel and is supporting Christian missions in all parts of the world at an annual cost of probably fifteen million of dollars; but every time America pays out one dollar to save the world she pays out one hundred and sixty-six dollars to damn it! We call ourselves a Christian Nation; but this is crass paganism. We have a leaven of Christianity, and that is our only hope. The liquor traffic would rob us of this hope if it could, and sink us to the level of the most

benighted paganism. Surely its financial record and its social crimes can have no other meaning nor tendency.

We could extend these comparisons indefinitely and show that every time America pays one dollar for meat she pays one dollar and sixty-six cents for drink; every time she pays one dollar for iron and steel she pays two dollars and a half for drink; every time she pays one dollar for lumber she pays three and one-third dollars for drink; every time she pays one dollar for cotton goods she pays nearly four dollars for drink; every time she pays one dollar for woollen goods she pays five dollars and forty cents for drink; every time she pays one dollar for boots and shoes she pays about five and one-half dollars for drink; every time she pays one dollar for furniture she pays ten and one-half dollars for drink; every time she pays one dollar for silk goods she pays eleven dollars for drink! Is it any wonder that the drunkard's wife has no silk gowns, his children no meat, no coat, and no shoes, his house no carpets and furniture, and his heart no hope? Is it any wonder that millions are impoverished while a few thousand brewers, distillers, and liquor dealers are enthroned in luxury and power?

That the liquor traffic is a source of profit or revenue to the State or the Nation is a

silly contention. It can never be one dollar's gain to any one without correspondingly impoverishing some one else. And to call that policy a source of wealth or revenue to the Nation is the biggest piece of economic stupidity of which the American people have ever been convicted. They are generally alert enough to guard their own financial interests; but this license is a monument of falsehood, stupidity, and fraud! How can the vast multitudes of our population expect to be other than poverty-stricken so long as they spend annually more money for drink than they do for any other single article of necessity or comfort? Perhaps one of the bravest and truest notes of warning that has ever been sounded was that of Carroll D. Wright, our great statistician, chief of the Labor Bureau in Washington, who, with almost monotonous repetition for more than a dozen years past has been telling the American people that they never get one dollar from the liquor traffic in revenue that does not cost them more than twenty dollars! But our boodle politicians and boozy statesmen never hear the voice. "It can never be licensed without sin," nor can it exist without poverty and sorrow.

Robert H. Patton, of Springfield, Ill., in a debate with a liquor champion recently gave

a correct estimate of the financial value of the saloon to any city that tolerates the institution: "What is the net result with our American cities which have tried the license system for half a century or over? Practically every large license city in the United States is in a deplorable financial condition. New York City and Chicago, the two leading ones, are hopelessly in debt and are continually clamoring for more power to tax the people. Our own city of Springfield, in spite of its one hundred thousand dollars of blood money, has for years had to anticipate its taxes and constantly reports its current obligations unmet. I challenge you, sir, to name one city in America where the license system of raising money has brought about good financial conditions. It has not only loaded down the city with the expenses of caring for the products of the saloon, but it has foisted upon the American cities a horde of worthless and corrupt public officials who have squandered and dissipated the public funds and built up a system of extravagance and graft which has disgraced us before the eyes of the whole world. We must confess with shame the failure of our American municipalities, and in doing so we must place the responsibility where it chiefly belongs—at the door of the license system.

"The license system of raising money does not shift the burden on the liquor dealers; it shifts the burden of government onto the shoulders of those who are least able to afford it; first, the unfortunate slaves of appetite, and next upon the wives and children. Look at the women and children thrown into competition with men in the labor market by this traffic. Talk of child slavery! Is not this the chief cause? Do not the women and children starve and shiver in the cold without homes and comforts while the husband spends his money in the saloon? I ask not only, Does it not pay? but, How dare we continue this system and claim to be men?"

SOURCE OF REVENUE TO THE NATION.

Perhaps the most serious aspect of the liquor problem is the complicity of the United States Government with the manufacturers and venders of intoxicating liquors. This complicity is excused, defended, and continued upon the plea that the traffic pays an enormous revenue to the Government, without which the Nation would be financially crippled. The manufacturers of beer pay into the United States Treasury one dollar for every barrel of beer that is brewed, and the distillers pay one dollar and ten cents for each gallon of spirits distilled; and these

aggregate about two hundred million dollars annually. In addition to these the United States Government issues excise permits to both wholesalers and retailers for the sum of twenty-five dollars. While these permits are not ostensibly licenses to sell liquors, yet they are generally understood by the people to amount to that; and it is felt to be a great wrong for the Government to issue these permits to persons in territory that has voted against the licensed saloon. But no saloonkeeper, jointist, or proprietor of a "blind tiger" in any territory, wet or dry, dare continue his traffic without these permits. From this source, therefore, the United States Treasury gathers annually a harvest of many millions of dollars. These revenues seem quite sufficient to bribe the Nation's conscience and to enthrone the liquor power in our legislative halls. Nor are our courts and cabinets immune from its deadly influence.

How can any community protect itself against the power of the United States Government? The Government issues excise permits to individuals in dry territory, authorizes the shipment of liquors to them through the interstate commerce law, and utterly refuses to allow these permits to be taken as *prima facie* evidence that the persons to whom these permits are issued are engaged

in selling liquors in violation of the no-license policy that prevails over that territory. Then these criminal lawbreakers tauntingly boast that prohibition is a failure. Thus the Government is in complicity both with the liquor traffic and with lawbreakers! Such a policy would overthrow every law upon the statute books and inaugurate the reign of anarchy. Yet all this outrageous burden and dishonor is laid upon the prohibition policy simply because the liquor traffic pours a stream of revenue into the United States Treasury. A Government that thus sells the souls of its people for revenue, and gathers its support from the price which it sets upon the vices of its citizens, is not a monumental model of Christian statesmanship!

IMMORAL ASPECT OF THE REVENUE POLICY.

Congress levied an internal revenue tax upon liquors in the year 1862 for the ostensible purpose of raising money to support the cause of the Union in the Civil War. President Lincoln's far-sighted intelligence saw at once what it all meant. He discerned the moral aspect of the policy and refused to sign the bill until he was assured that the policy would be discontinued as soon as the Government no longer needed the revenue

for war purposes. That pledge to the martyred President has never been fulfilled, and the continuation of that policy is the deepest disgrace upon our National honor to-day. The great moral hurt of that revenue policy may be indicated as follows:

1. It is a bribe paid by the liquor traffic to lull the Nation's conscience to slumber, and to secure its continued acquiescence in a great National crime. Human nature is so morally enfeebled that a bribe of two or three hundred million of dollars seems quite sufficient to gain the consent of a large portion of the people and a large majority of the members of Congress, that the iniquity of the liquor traffic may have the protection of the Government forever.

2. It is such "easy money," it comes into the treasury of the Government so promptly, it requires so little tax upon intelligence to devise such a plan, and so little energy to secure the results, that our overtaxed "statesmen" hail the policy as a welcome substitute for the more difficult problems of revenue-raising. They are averse to racking their brains to invent an honorable and virtuous policy when this one already brings such large financial returns with so little outlay of nervous energy! Every time one assails this infamous policy our mushy "states-

men'' raise their hands in horror and exclaim: ''If we do n't get these two or three hundred million dollars from the liquor traffic, where in creation *can* we get it from? We must have the money!'' That reply is a confession that this the richest Nation on the face of the earth is too poor to pay the necessary expenses of its own government! It is a confession, also, that American statesmanship is inadequate to devise any plan for raising the necessary revenues without the help of the brewers, distillers, and saloonkeepers, who in turn filch it chiefly from the poor, the laboring classes, who ultimately pay the bills, and who are least able to stand the strain. It is a confession that American statesmanship is unable to devise a plan for raising revenue to support the Government without entering into complicity with a business which is morally the most questionable, if not the most criminal, and which policy wounds and compromises the moral sense of the Nation. Gladstone said, ''Give me a virtuous and industrious people, and I shall know where to get our revenues from.''

3. This hateful policy makes every citizen of the United States a partner in the accursed liquor traffic; for, whether he wills it or not, he is compelled to recognize the fact that his own Government is supported

out of the funds which that traffic furnishes. Whatever his personal protest, he is compelled in fact to be a partner in the crime. Any governmental policy that thus morally defrauds and debauches the conscience of its people is an infamous policy. The moral sense of mankind revolts at such a course.

4. This immoral policy puts every man, woman, and child under financial obligation to the liquor traffic. The Government of the United States ought to protect its people against such a grievous moral burden and such a distasteful and dishonorable obligation. Is it any wonder that we are a rum-ruled Nation? Does not such a policy forever compromise the moral tone of our lawmakers and keep them at the low level of the saloon and the beer dive. Our statesmanship will never rise above the bunghole of a whisky barrel until this unholy alliance with the liquor traffic is broken.

WHENCE OUR NATIONAL REVENUE?

"If we do not get it from the liquor traffic, where can we get it from?" This is the helpless wail of our politicians who have long fed upon the official spoils which the liquor traffic has handed out to them. It is the despairing groan of our "statesmen" who are either too weary or too stupid to devise any

source of legitimate revenue to meet the loss of income from the liquor traffic. "Where, O, where can we get the coin?"

It should not be the business of the ordinary layman to instruct Congress as to how our National revenues may be obtained. Members of Congress are the chosen representatives of the people, and are appointed to this task. If they will stop collecting revenues from the liquor traffic and other protected vices, and consecrate their talents to an honest attempt to find legitimate sources of revenue, they will certainly be rewarded with success, or they will have to confess that this, one of the largest, richest, and most prosperous countries on the globe, is not able to pay for its own protection and government. Let them proceed to collect taxes upon the millions of dollars of rich men now practically exempt by the grace of the liquor traffic in nearly every city and State in the Nation. Let them demand the Nation's just share in those enormous inheritances that have proven such a source of envy, if not of hatred and injustice. The Nation has furnished the conditions under which these vast accumulations have been made. The people furnish the "social fund" which is generally exploited to secure these aggregations. Would it not be infinitely better that the Na-

tion have its just share, rather than that one babe in its cradle should inherit hundreds of millions of dollars, when just around the corner another babe inherits poverty, ignorance, and crime? It is generally the labor and patronage of the people and the protection of the Government that make these vast accumulations possible; why should the heirs of these prodigious estates be allowed to go on, generation after generation, compelling thousands of people to enslave themselves just to earn dividends upon those bonds for idle and worthless drones? When our Nation concludes to be exactly sane and just to all its citizens, the poor as well as the rich, it will collect its revenues alike from all people and all interests. "Big business" will pay its just share of taxes. It will seek some just way to divide those gigantic inheritances. It will tax incomes. And it will raise its revenues without damning its people into criminal complicity with the outlawed liquor traffic. One need not be deemed a revolutionist who affirms that our present system needs revising. So long as the burdens of government rest chiefly upon the shoulders of the laborer and the poor man, who feels, somewhat justly, that his government forever discriminates against him and

in favor of the rich, social discontent may be expected to increase. So long as our great corporations are allowed to escape bearing their just share of the burdens of government, anarchy may increasingly become a flaming menace.

TRUTH WITH BOOTS ON.

Abstract reasoning is not enough. Statistical tables do not speak with human voice and warm breath. It is the truth concreted that moves the world. Thus the divine deposit of God's revelation to man is everywhere concreted in human lives and speaks to us in human forms. Even the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.

So it would seem appropriate to close this chapter on the financial phase of the drink problem with some testimonies of living men who know whereof they affirm, and into whose lives have come positive knowledge and awful conviction of the financial waste of intemperance.

"A saloon at the best is a nuisance, and never tolerated except as a necessary nuisance. Nobody defends the saloon. The people apologize for it, but they never defend it. You can't find a State where the people asking for a saloon ever urge it as

a moral center, an educational institution, or an economic asset."—*William Jennings Bryan.*

"To-night the saloon enters an humble home to strike the roses from a woman's cheek, and to-morrow it challenges this Republic in the halls of Congress. To-day it strikes a crust from the lips of a starving child, and to-morrow levies tribute from the Government itself. There is no cottage humble enough to escape it, no place strong enough to shut it out. It defies the law when it can not coerce suffrage. It is flexible to cajole, but merciless in victory. It is the mortal enemy of peace and order, the despoiler of men and terror of women, the cloud that shadows the faces of children, the demon that has dug more graves and sent more souls unshrived to judgment than all the pestilences that have wasted life since God sent the plagues of Egypt, and all the wars since Joshua stood before Jericho. It comes to ruin, and it shall profit mainly by the ruin of your sons and mine. It comes to mislead human souls and to crush human hearts under its rumbling wheels. It comes to bring gray-haired mothers down in shame and sorrow to their graves. It comes to change the wife's love into despair and her pride into shame. It comes to still the laugh-

ter on the lips of little children. It comes to stifle all the music of the home and fill it with silence and desolation. It comes to ruin your body and mind, to wreck your home, and it knows that it must measure its prosperity by the swiftness and certainty with which it wrecks the world."—*Henry W. Grady.*

"One of the worst falsehoods in the world is the statement, in varying forms, that the public treasury is made richer by legalizing the sale of alcoholic drinks; that the Government needs this revenue, and could n't be run without it; and that the best and most able people all use the stuff, if not openly, then on the sly. Ask your father if these are facts. Ask your mother. Ask your minister. Do n't stop at that. Inquire of every respectable and intelligent person you know who is unbiased. Find out for yourself if the towns and States where the least alcohol is sold and used are not in the long run by far the most prosperous as well as the cleanest places for everybody to live in. Find out whether the tax at Wellsville, Ohio, of which record has been kept, fluctuated as follows: In 1906 it was seventeen and two-tenths mills. After eight new saloons had been licensed and had begun to do business there was so much activity (?) that the tax had to

be increased to twenty-four mills. As common sense began to take notice, the people voted out all saloons, and then, although there was no longer revenue from licenses, the rate of taxation was reduced to fourteen mills. Was it queer? Not at all! The records show that ninety per cent of those in jail, ninety-five occupants of the workhouse, and fully fifty per cent of the insane are the fruits of strong drink, and that when one hundred dollars are spent for spirits by the people, the laborer gets but a little more than one dollar out of it. Who are the men that have done the really great things of the world? Abstainers, men who were hard workers and deniers of self. Find out if it is n't so. Do n't be misled on this line."—*Farm Journal,* Philadelphia.

"I have undertaken to show you that, as an economic proposition, if the business never broke a woman's heart, if it never blighted a child's life, if it never was guilty of moral harm, yet it stands as a robber among the industries of the country. It is a pirate, a pirate on the high seas of commerce. It takes from the producing power of vast millions and it gives nothing of real worth in return. It shortens the life of the laboring man; it decreases the number of days of his productive energy; it paralyzes

his arm; it excludes him from many lucrative and honorable employments. It is the incubus to-day that is preventing labor in America from coming to her just reward."—*Samuel Dickie.*

CHAPTER V

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

The economic problem in its relation to drink is an immense one, for it touches and concerns almost every department of human life. Like the drink-curse itself, which has penetrated into every nook and corner of our personal, social, civic, and financial existence, so this economic problem touches everywhere. We can hope to canvass it only in its most obvious relations and where its influence has been most pronounced. It is also interlaced with what we have chosen to call the financial question to such an extent as to make the differentiation often less apparent than arbitrary.

SALOON CLOSES THE DOOR OF OPPORTUNITY.

Our very first concern in the discussion of this part of the subject is as to the effect of drink upon the fortune and future prospect of the individual. We are instantly startled by the fact, which we think no one is prepared to deny, that it is enough to blast the reputation of any young man that he

be known to enter saloons. And this is true in wet territory as well as in dry. There is no other branch of business in this country with which a young man's connection would cast a suspicion upon him or blacklist him for employment. Association with the saloon invariably will. And if he goes out to seek employment, who wants an intemperate clerk, bookkeeper, teacher, lawyer, physician, surgeon, or even a mechanic? It is the universal conviction that drink unfits men for labor, and makes them untrustworthy and unreliable? And everybody knows that all such are on the toboggan-slide, which must end quickly and can end only in dishonor and ruin.

"We will not to our knowledge place a young man who drinks in our business; and, even though a man should apply for a position whose ability and other all-around qualifications would seem to fit him for the position, if we knew or discovered that he was a drinking man we should decline to consider his application."—*Marshall Field & Co.*, Chicago.

The United States Department of Labor, basing its information upon more than a thousand reports, found that practically all kinds of business men discriminated against employees who drink. Thus seventy-two

per cent of agriculturists, seventy-nine per cent of manufactories, eighty per cent of trades, and ninety per cent of the railroads deny drinking men a chance to work for wages and earn a living for themselves and their families. What a fool a young man must be thus deliberately to handicap himself in the race of life! Suicide is phenomenal wisdom compared with this self-imposed murder of his opportunity and his manhood.

What is left in the economic world for the young man who has thus incapacitated himself for honorable and lucrative employment? He might get a job of cleaning streets, driving a garbage wagon, or cleaning out stables. But the comforts and luxuries of life and all that goes with a happy home he can never hope to have. Is it any wonder that he betakes himself to the road and becomes a beggar or a common tramp? Or should we be astonished if he turns to the more tragic employment of a criminal? When manhood is gone, honor has perished, and hope is dead, what can cheer his life or paint his future with anything but black despair? There is, however, one ray of hope that splits the gloom of such dark despair—the infinite love and mercy of God! This alone can revive hope, restore lost manhood, and bring new life into the soul. But how

few lost men ever seem even to think of it, and how fewer still ever lay hold of it by faith?

GRAINS USED IN MANUFACTURE OF LIQUORS.

Barley, wheat, corn, rye, and oats are used in the manufacture of whisky and beer. The total crop of these grains in 1907 was 4,166,013,000 bushels. The total amount of these grains used in the manufacture of liquors during the year following was 100,368,805 bushels, which is exactly .0241 per cent of the whole—an amount too insignificant to affect the prices of grain except those of barley and rye, and that but slightly, as only forty-three per cent of barley and twelve per cent of rye are used for the manufacture of liquors. Barley is but one-thirtieth, and rye is but one one-hundred and thirtieth of the entire grain crop. So it is evident that if no American grains were used in the manufacture of liquors the prices of these grains would not be lowered a single penny. More grain indeed would be needed, for more bread and other products of grain would find their way into the drinkers' homes. This would vastly counterbalance any possible loss to the farmer.

According to the statement made by the Department of Agriculture, the farmer who

raised one thousand bushels of these grains could have sold them for five hundred and sixty-five dollars. Eighteen and one-third bushels would go to the brewer, for which he would receive eleven dollars; five and two-thirds bushels would go to the distiller, and for that he would receive three dollars—fourteen dollars in all.

The brewer would turn his into two hundred and thirty-eight gallons of beer, for which the consumer would pay two hundred and nineteen dollars. The distiller would turn his into about thirty-nine gallons of common whisky, for which the consumer would pay sixty-two dollars and forty cents. Thus the farmer raises and sells twenty-four bushels of grain for fourteen dollars. When it is manufactured into liquors it is retailed for about two hundred and eighty-two dollars. The farmers' share in the profits of the liquor traffic, from this viewpoint, does not seem prodigious. It hardly looks sufficiently alluring to induce all farmers to take a stand against prohibition, lest there should be no market for their grain, nor munificent reward for their labor!

But there is still another aspect of the case that both appeals to the reason and touches the pocketbook of the farmer. If

the drinker, instead of swallowing two hundred and eighty-two dollars' worth of beer and whisky, had bought bread for his hungry wife and children, it would require one hundred and forty-one bushels instead of twenty-four bushels to supply the demand; and that would have been felt all along the line in the increase of the price of grain of all kinds. Thus the farmer would be a financial gainer if all farmers, instead of furnishing twenty-four bushels of grain out of every one thousand to the liquor manufacturers, were to dump that amount each year into the river! Such an act would put an end to the making of beer and whisky, and for every fourteen dollars now received by the farmer, two hundred and eighty-two dollars would be diverted from men's throats into all channels of legitimate trade and business. Not only the farmer, but every other industry would take on new life and become almost delirious with the thrill of awakening enterprise. What would happen if every time the farmer sells one thousand bushels of grain, the drinking men, now sober, were to purchase two hundred and eighty-two dollars' worth of food, clothing, and other home comforts? Would not our country experience a degree of pros-

perity never before known? Would we not glow in the full sunburst of a happier day than we have ever yet seen?

LIQUOR AND LABOR.

The economic phase of the labor problem is still more startling. Dr. Carroll D. Wright, chief of the labor bureau at Washington, bears this testimony with statistical accuracy and authority: "It requires three thousand five hundred and four dollars' capital to employ one man in the making of ardent spirits. That amount of capital would employ eight and four-tenths men in making brick and tile; eight and six-tenths men in making boots and shoes; in all building trades it would employ nine and seven-tenths men. If the capital now engaged in the building trades were to be turned into the manufacture of beer and whisky, out of every nine men *eight* would be thrown out of employment." By this state of the case, does not the liquor business forfeit the sympathy of the laboring classes?

In his great debate with Mayor Rose, of Milwaukee, in that city, Dr. Samuel Dickie had this to say touching the proportionate number of laborers employed in manufacturing liquors as compared with all other branches of business: "You will remember

that on January 1, 1906, 1907, 1908, and perhaps 1909, the Milwaukee *Sentinel* has been publishing statistical statements with reference to the business affairs of your city. I will simply read the column which reduces the number of employees to the basis of one million dollars of capital. In the building trades in Milwaukee for one million dollars of invested capital there are one thousand two hundred and ten workmen; in merchant tailoring there are one thousand two hundred and seventy workmen; in the manufacture of women's clothing there are one thousand two hundred and twenty-eight employed; in paperhanging and decorating there are one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight employed; in making blank books and binding there are one thousand nine hundred and sixty employed; in millinery and straw goods, one thousand one hundred and twenty are employed; in boots and shoes, one thousand and ninety-eight are employed; in plumbing and steam-fitting, one thousand one hundred and forty-five are employed; in furniture and upholstery, eight hundred and fifty-three are employed; in the manufacture of beer and malt tonics ninety-one are employed!

"Dividing these numbers through by ninety-one, I find that every time one man is

employed in the manufacture of beer, the same amount of capital will employ in building, thirteen men; in merchant tailoring, fourteen men; in making women's clothing, thirteen persons; in paperhanging and decorating, nineteen persons; in blank books and binding, twenty-one persons; in millinery and straw goods, twelve persons; in boots and shoes, twelve persons, and in plumbing and steam-fitting, twelve persons.

"I find that the total amount of capital invested in the beer-brewing and liquor-producing industry in this city is $55,321,000, giving employment to 5,219 men, and paying in wages $3,920,000. Grouping all other lines together in one item, there is an investment of $159,491,000, employing 89,346 persons, and paying in wages $51,270,000. That is, comparing the liquor manufacturing industry of Milwaukee with all other manufacturing lines, we find that the second group has less than three times the capital, but more than seventeen times the number of workmen, and pays more than thirteen times the amount of wages.

"Put in another form, every million dollars invested in the manufacture of all kinds of liquors employs ninety-four persons—ninety-one if confined to malt liquors and tonics—while in all other lines of industry

a million dollars capital gives employment to five hundred and sixty persons—a ratio of about one to six! Or, otherwise, $55,321,000 of capital in your city employed in the manufacture of liquor gives employment to 5,219 persons, while the same amount of capital invested in other lines gives employment to 30,991 persons—a very large difference in favor of those other lines of industry."

From sources which we believe to be perfectly reliable we have found that labor will receive a larger proportion of the earnings of labor and capital combined when these are not engaged in the manufacture of liquors. We find that all other industries paid thirty-one per cent on the capital invested, while the manufacture of liquor paid fifty-five per cent. And of the profits arising from the combined operation of capital and labor, all other industries paid labor forty-two per cent, while the manufacturers of liquor paid to labor but nine per cent of their profits.

During the last two decades of the century just passed, all other industries showed an increase upon the capital invested of 253 per cent, and an increase of wage-earners of 94 per cent. During the same period the capital engaged in the manufacture of

liquors increased 287 per cent, but an increase of wage-earners employed of only 34 per cent.

While all other industries showed an average increase of wages paid of 41 per cent, wages paid by the manufacturers of liquor advanced only 30 per cent. All other industries showed an increase in the total of wages paid of 145 per cent, the liquor manufacturers increased the total amount of wages paid only 78 per cent for the same period.

TESTIMONY OF LABORING MEN.

It can scarcely be concealed that there is an awakening sentiment among laboring men touching the influence of drink, and of the harmful influence of the saloon. In November, 1909, the International Convention of the Federation of Labor was held in the city of Toronto. During that meeting one of the greatest rallies of union labor ever held convened in a great auditorium, and four thousand men heard and enthusiastically applauded a most vigorous arraignment of the liquor traffic, and strongly expressed their sympathy with the temperance cause.

The liquor traffic is fighting for its life, and realizing its danger of losing the sup-

port of the laboring man, it has resorted to its usual tactics of deceit and fraud. It has gone to the limit of its resources in its effort to hoodwink laboring men into the support of the saloon. The saloon plants itself as near as possible to every place where laboring men are employed; it is always ready to cash the laboring man's checks, and thus make him feel a sense of obligation for the favor; it calls itself "the poor man's club;" it is effusive in its proclamation of friendship for the laborer, when in the very core of the matter the saloon is labor's worst enemy.

But labor is getting its eyes opened. Labor is no fool, though it has all too long been fooled by the selfish greed of the boozemonger. The economic side of this question is challenging labor's attention as never before, and the day seems to be dawning when the agents of grog shall find it altogether more difficult to hoodwink the laboring man than formerly. It is interesting now to note what labor leaders are saying about drink and the places where it is sold to laboring men. No truer note of alarm was ever sounded than is now daily ringing out to warn unwary feet:

"The time has come when the saloon and

the labor movement must be divorced."—*President Gompers,* of the American Federation of Labor.

"Working men ask me to make a new heaven and a new earth for them. They can make them for themselves by saving the $15,000,000 spent in drink and gambling each week."—*John Burns,* the English labor leader.

"We should do all in our power to protect the women and to keep them outside the factory, so that they may become the mothers and home-keepers of the Nation. Will any man dare to say that the liquor business has not driven countless women to the factory, the mill, and the washtub? And the saloon is constantly driving our boys and girls to the factory. As one trades-unionist, I am unalterably against a business that has such tendencies. I am against the saloon without any qualification because I am a trades-unionist. That is my primary reason. The unions make every possible effort and use every influence they can command to increase wages. The stream of influence that runs from a saloon continuously tends to decrease wages, for the reason that every cent the union man spends in the saloon is an absolute waste, and, consequently, his real wages are reduced by every amount the sa-

loon gets from him. The union, therefore, is on one side of this question and the saloon is on the other. It is not a question of the money the saloon pays to the State or to the city; it is a question of manhood and womanhood. And eventually, as upon all other great questions, the trades-unionist will be found not on the side of the dollar, but on the side that stands for manhood and womanhood."—*John D. Lennon,* Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

"The saloon is not a necessary evil. Because the liquor traffic tends to enslave the people and make them satisfied with improper conditions and keep them ignorant, the laborers of the trades-union movement are called upon to fight the saloon."—*Tom Lewis,* President of the United Mine Workers of America.

"Both workingmen and farmers suffer when money is spent for drink. Workingmen, vote against your worst enemy, the saloon. When the workingmen down the whisky trust and the beer trust, then they will be able to get their rights. No one can claim that the saloon is a moral institution. Facts prove that it is an enormous financial loss, as well as a moral degradation, for a community to maintain it."—*John F. Cunneen,* union machinist, Chicago.

"The use of liquor and its influence have done more to darken labor's homes, dwarf its energies, and chain it hand and foot to the wheels of corporate aggression, than all other influences combined."—*R. F. Trafelick,* President of the National Labor Union and Eight Hour League.

"I do not believe that shorter hours and increase of wages would lead to increase of drunkenness. When a man comes home mentally and physically exhausted, he is more likely to seek a stimulant in the saloon. Nothing has done more to bring misery on innocent women and children than money spent in the saloon. Money spent in the saloon is not surplus money. The pay of a workman is not sufficient to leave a surplus. It is true that every scandal, few as they have been, in organized labor, can be traced in some connection with the saloon."—*John Mitchell,* Ex-President American Federation of Labor.

During the great street-car strike in Philadelphia the laboring men found that the saloons were the chief source of trouble to them. In these saloons hoodlums were incited to deeds of violence which greatly injured the cause of labor. Men half-crazed with liquor committed deeds of violence for

which the laboring men were blamed. The influence of saloons and drunken men in city politics prevented the strikers from getting a fair deal; so the Central Labor Council of Philadelphia, by a vote of eighty-two to thirty-four adopted a resolution declaring that union workingmen should "agitate and vote for local option at every opportunity." They discovered that the saloon, which always professes to be the friend of the laboring man, proved to be his worst enemy when he was in the awful crisis of need.

"We object to the labor movement being tied to the tail of the brewers' kite or forming any entangling alliances with the liquor traffic. We must steer labor's craft as far away from the saloon as possible, not draw it closer. Labor uplifts, liquor keeps us down."—*United Mine Workers' Journal.*

"We believe liquor to be the greatest injury that can be imagined to our people. A man may take a drink or two and continue to be a man, but if he can do without it, he is a much better man, and he is not so liable to meet with accidents during the hours of work. If you can see your way to cut out the beer, do so for your own sake, the sake of your family, and the sake of your employer. The workingman can not afford to

spend even ten cents out of his wages to fatten the brewer or the saloonkeeper."—*The Official Organ of the Teamsters' Union.*

This awakening attitude of labor touching the saloon curse is one of the most cheering signs of the times. It means the ultimate triumph both of the cause of labor and the cause of temperance. Thus each shall help the other to gain an entrance to the "Promised Land."

TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND THE DEATH RATE.

One of the most significant and important phases of the economic problem is the relation of strong drink to life insurance. One of the largest life insurance companies—The Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York—carefully observed the death rate of abstainers and of non-abstainers during a period of fifteen years, 1875 to 1890, and found that the death rate of drinkers was immensely greater than that of abstainers. Among the abstainers the actual to the expected death loss was only seventy-eight per cent, while among the drinkers the corresponding percentage was ninety-six. Or, to put it in plainer terms, out of one hundred abstainers who were expected to die, only seventy-eight died, while out of one hundred

drinkers who were expected to die, ninety-six died.

The Sceptre Life Insurance Society of London during a period of twenty years—1884 to 1904—found that out of one hundred abstainers who were expected to die, only fifty-five died; while out of one hundred drinkers (selected with the usual care as moderate drinkers) who were expected to die, seventy-nine died.

The Scottish Temperance Life Assurance Company, Scotland, during a period of twenty years—1882 to 1902—found that out of one hundred abstainers who were expected to die within that period, only forty-five died; out of one hundred drinkers who were expected to die, seventy-one died.

If we were to strike an average from the experience of these three great life insurance companies, we should get this result: Of each one hundred abstainers who were expected to die within a given time, only fifty-nine died; out of one hundred non-abstainers who during the same time were expected to die, eighty-two died. Or, to put it in still other terms, every time one hundred abstainers die, one hundred and thirty-eight drinkers die!

In a paper read before the Actuarial So-

ciety of America, Joel G. Van Cise, Actuary of the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, said: "Comparing the two percentages obtained by the New York Life Insurance Company, the death rate among non-abstainers was twenty-three per cent higher than among abstainers. I would refer to the statistics showing the percentages of mortality in the various occupations. They have invariably shown a higher death rate among those engaged in the liquor business, from brewers down to bartenders, than among those engaged in other occupations, except such as are clearly defined as specially hazardous. A circular issued to the agency force by a prominent United States company gives these instructions:

" 'Bartenders not taken. Saloon-keepers generally not taken, but best of this class may be accepted on ten to fifteen-year endowments only. Commercial travelers (salesmen) $5 per thousand extra. Wholesale dealers, if apparently unaffected by their business, free. Restaurant keepers and waiters selling liquors, $5 per thousand extra.'

"An applicant for assurance is never refused because he is a total abstainer, while others are constantly being rejected because of their excessive indulgence in alcoholic bev-

erages. A man known to drink to excess can rarely obtain a policy in any company, even under the most disadvantageous conditions."

Sir Thomas Whittaker, a man high in life insurance circles in England, says: "A few years ago we tabulated our mortality experiences covering a period of sixty years, and we found that on the average mortality was thirty-six per cent higher among drinkers than among abstainers."

The Chicago *Record-Herald* says: "No wise life insurance company will, if it knows it, accept a drunkard as a patron. It is certain enough that drinking habits and short life accompany each other, and the natural inference is that drinking habits shorten life. With the English records in mind, Americans who are total abstainers ought to insist on being insured in companies which reject drinkers, or at least give them separate classification. The abstainers would make a distinct profit by such insurance, and they are entitled to it. The hard drinkers have no claim to any charity at the expense of the abstainers."

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM IN PROHIBITION TERRITORY.

Prohibition has never had a fair chance anywhere. With the unfriendly attitude of

the National and often the State governments, express and transportation companies, the malicious activity of lawbreakers and criminals, it is a marvel that it has succeeded as well as it has. But it has, in spite of all drawbacks, won trophies of victory, and has registered a high degree of success in many places.

There is rarely any question about the easy enforcement of prohibition laws in villages and rural districts, nor of the immense benefit of such a policy; but the cities present the most sturdy opposition to the operation of the law, and the larger the city generally, the more stubborn the antagonism. So the final test of the economic value of the prohibition policy must be made in the city. However, this policy has been tried in a sufficient number of places, and has been in operation long enough to afford a definite testimony as to its economic value. It will therefore be of prime interest to inquire as fully as we may just how the matter stands at the present time in those cities where it is being tried.

MAINE.

There has probably not been a senator or representative in Congress, nor scarcely a governor of the State of Maine for the past

thirty years, who has not given over his own signature an unqualified indorsement of the prohibition law; and they have also testified as to the favorable influence of the law upon social, civic, and economic conditions. So multitudinous are these testimonials that one scarcely knows where to begin quoting them. Congressman Charles E. Littlefield says: "The time will never come in your day or mine when Maine will refuse to maintain her obligations on temperance, or to sustain her laws regarding the same as they at present exist. Can you make a man sober by statute? Can you make a man honest by statute? Each question requires the same answer. The law can make it easier for him to do right, and harder for him to do wrong."

Certain facts and contrasts which we have gathered from various sources, and which we believe to be reliable, are here presented. Maine has clung to its prohibition policy for sixty years. And though her climate is rigorous, much of her soil barren, and her natural resources limited, yet, under that policy the exhibit of her prosperity is almost phenomenal. When prohibition was introduced there were but five savings banks in the entire State, with less than ninety thousand dollars on deposit. At the end of fifty years she had fifty-seven savings

banks, twenty-two building and loan associations, and thirty-seven trust companies, with deposits aggregating more than one hundred and thirty million dollars!

The city of Portland has eighty-four arrests for every ten thousand of her population, while Boston, under high license, has four hundred and twenty-six—more than five times as many. It costs Boston almost three times as much per capita to police her city as it does Portland, and fourteen times as much per capita to provide jails and board for her criminals.

Every time Maine puts one hundred and twenty-five people into insane hospitals, high-license Massachusetts puts in two hundred and eighty-eight—more than twice as many proportionately.

There is no State east of the Mississippi River where so many people own their own homes and where so many farmers own their own farms. During the first fifty years of prohibition the per capita wealth of Maine increased from two hundred and ten dollars to nine hundred and twenty-two dollars—nearly four hundred and forty per cent! It is probably, with the exception of Kansas, the only State in the Union that can show more bank depositors than it has voters. Thus, from one of the poorest States in the

Union, its temperate habits have made it one of the most prosperous. Ohio has about six times as many people, yet Maine can show one hundred thousand more bank depositors and nearly twenty million dollars more deposited than can the great saloon State of Ohio, whose soil, climate, and natural resources are far ahead of those of Maine. What has made the difference? Can any honest man be in doubt? One license city in the State of New York with six hundred saloons had four times as many murders in one year as the whole State of Maine. Birmingham, Ala., in 1900, under license, had twenty-four murders; Portland, Me., the same year under prohibition, had none! Monroe County, N. Y., including the city of Rochester, under saloon license, during 1907 sent thirty-one to the penitentiary and twenty-six to the State reformatory, while the entire State of Maine that year sent to prison only fifty-four. Thus one license county furnishes a larger record of crime than an entire State under prohibition!

While pauperism has been making almost phenomenal growth in many of our license States, and especially in our great saloon cities, it has been steadily decreasing in Maine for half a century. Prohibition Maine leads the world in the number of people who

own and live in their own homes. In New York City, with its nearly thirty thousand saloons, only one family in six own the homes in which they live. In Portland, Me., forty-nine per cent of the people own the homes in which they live. There is no spot on this earth where the saloon exists that can show such a record.

In the high-license city of Louisville, Ky., during the year 1908 there were forty-seven homicides; in the State of Maine, with a population four times as great as that of Louisville, there were only three cases of homicide that year. Commenting on this, the Louisville *Evening Post* goes on to say: "In the State of Main there is a law prohibiting all traffic in liquor. It is violated, of course, just as laws here against homicide are violated. In the city of Louisville we have seven hundred and fifty saloons. If the homicidal mania prevailing in Louisville had prevailed in Maine, instead of having three homicides, Maine would have had one hundred and eighty-eight!"

One of our most honored college presidents has this to say of his actual experiences in the State of Maine: "The saloon, as known in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, is not to be found in Maine. You may walk the streets of Portland, Bath, Bangor,

Augusta, or Lewiston, looking for the screens, the frosted windows, the barrels, the bottles, the beer signs, the external and familiar evidences of the saloon, and you will look in vain. Cultivate a loafer on the street corner, get chummy with a porter in a cheap hotel, make yourself solid with an ill-favored hack driver, and, for a consideration, you may be conducted, as was the writer, down into a cellar, through a foul-smelling lavatory, and into a 'joint,' all of whose stock in trade could quite easily have been packed into a couple of suit-cases. A keg of beer which had been secreted in an outhouse, a tin can concealed in a hollow wall and yielding luke-warm 'booze' through a rubber tube, a brace of whisky flasks worn under the outer garments of a woman, a coffin filled with bottles of beer packed in straw, were all exhibited to the writer by a Portland sheriff as most convincing proof that they do not sell liquor in Maine 'just as they do in New York.' "

KANSAS.

It must always be remembered that the liquor traffic has a direct and powerful motive for discrediting all prohibitory efforts; and while a community is in the transition state from license to prohibition, temporary

obstacles will necessarily be presented, such as immediate loss of revenues for which no provision has been made. This state of things creates the anomalous condition of sudden and generally widespread prosperity and a corresponding poverty of the public treasury. And this is always made the most of by the enemies of prohibition. Also the overflow of drunkenness and of crime from a nearby license town into a prohibition town is generally charged to the dry town by its enemies, as in the case of the saloon-cursed town of Moorehead, Minn., just across the river from the splendid prohibition town of Fargo in North Dakota, or of the saloon-ruled city of Kansas City, Mo., and the prohibition city of Kansas City, Kan. Always the outflow of drunkenness and crime from the saloon-dominated town becomes a heavy burden upon the adjacent saloonless town. Thus, seven murders committed in the dry town of Kansas City, Kan., were due to the drink obtained just over the line in the city of Kansas City, Mo. Yet liquor men never hesitate to charge these crimes to prohibition. The issue is one simply of common sense, and the testimony one of veracity; and we fear not to leave the verdict, when all the facts are known, to prudent and candid men.

From all sides come words of praise for

the good effects of prohibition in Kansas. Ministers, teachers, editors, and public men of all classes, as well as private citizens throughout the State, are practically unanimous in their endorsement of the prohibition policy. Wherever it has been faithfully enforced, which—thanks to Mrs. Carrie Nation and her little hatchet—has in recent years become general, almost universal, business men who were hostile have become its staunchest friends, seeing the benefit it has conferred upon their business interests. So strong has the prohibition policy become enthroned in the law and the administration of the State that the saloon business is generally regarded as an outlaw and a criminal. It is respected nowhere. Drinking and drunkenness, which are tolerated in society in many States, are positively disreputable in Kansas. For a young man to drink in this State is to close practically every avenue to business and fortune against him. Even the State Bar Association has banished liquors from the banquet table. The standard of journalism has been greatly elevated by this policy; and this persistent moral issue has had a mighty influence in elevating the whole ethical tone of society throughout the State.

The prohibition law has exerted a most

salutary influence upon the material interests of the State. There are not fifteen hundred paupers within her borders. Her annual charge for the care of the inmates of her poor-houses is less than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars—a condition hard to duplicate anywhere on this earth! The people are now generally expending what in other States is money spent for drink, upon better houses, comforts and luxuries, education and travel. The prohibition policy every year saves to the people of Kansas from twenty-five to thirty million dollars. With perhaps not a dozen millionaires in the entire State, her per capita in banks is over one hundred dollars. And rising high over all as the greatest possible blessing which her thirty years of prohibition have brought to that great Commonwealth, are the saving of her young men and the founding of her thousands of happy homes! These are the crowning glory of this sane and righteous policy.

The General Land Commissioner of the A., T. & S. F. Railroad says: "My belief is that there is no law upon the statute books of Kansas enacted in the last twenty-five years which is of more value to the material interests of the State than the prohibition law." And the editor of the Topeka *Daily*

Herald adds: "To doubt the wisdom of the prohibition policy of Kansas is to take issue with common sense. On the last day of the year just closed (1907) eighty-four out of one hundred and five counties of the State were without a pauper, and thirty-five county jails were absolutely empty. The people throughout the State are happy, prosperous, and contented."

In 1908 Governor Hoch wrote: "Prohibition has been in the constitution of the State since 1880. It is better enforced at this time than ever before. The State is practically free from saloons. The liquor interests have resorted to every possible scheme to defeat the law since its enactment. Every possible technicality has been thrashed out in the courts, and the ingenuity of man has been taxed to discover new ways to evade the law. But the enemies of good government have been baffled in all these attempts, and the law is now a great success, championed by both political parties, and stronger than ever before in the hearts of the people.

"In the State at large we have wonderful prosperity. Prohibition has been a great benefit to Kansas morally, educationally, and financially." In Kansas it would be as easy to inaugurate a campaign for the overthrow

of the public schools as one to repeal the prohibition law.

Assistant Attorney-General Trickett, who was chiefly instrumental in the enforcement of the law in Kansas City, says: "On June 8, 1906, there were two hundred and fifty-six saloons in Wyandotte County, of which Kansas City is the seat. There were two hundred gambling-houses, and more than sixty houses of evil repute. On July 3d all were closed. There have been none since. When the fight started, delegations of business men said that to close the saloons would stop our growth, destroy business, deplete bank deposits, stop the erection of buildings, render houses vacant, increase taxation, reduce the price of real estate, cause people to go over to Kansas City, Mo., to do their shopping and spend their money, and would ruin the town generally. For eighteen months the city has been without a saloon. The belligerent mayor was turned out of office and fined one thousand dollars. We ousted the chief of police and the county attorney; five hundred buildings are under permanent injunction not to be used for the sale of liquor; fifteen hundred citizens are under permanent injunction never again to sell liquor in that county; more than one hundred former saloon-keepers are under bonds to the same ef-

fect; more than one hundred others are out on bail with sentences of imprisonment suspended during good behavior, and a hundred more are banished from Kansas as undesirable citizens. Under the law the owner of a saloon building is as guilty as the liquor-selling tenant, and many such are exiles accordingly.

"The business men who had so many fears will now tell you that they were mistaken. The abolition of liquor-selling has been of decided benefit instead of injury to the business interests of the city. Bank deposits have increased more than two million dollars since the saloons closed. More clerks have been hired to attend to mercantile business. A letter from the president of the largest bank in the city says that within one year after saloons were closed his deposits increased one million seven hundred thousand dollars. He testified that a majority of business men are pleased with the results, with which a large majority of professional men and other intelligent citizens agree."

ALABAMA.

State-wide prohibition went into effect in Alabama on the first of January, 1909, and the reports of success are full of encouragement from all over the State. Birmingham,

its chief city, reports most wonderful progress in the enforcement of the law and also of the salutary effects of the prohibition policy. The records for the first year were a little over one-fourth the arrests for drunkenness, a trifle over one-half the arrests for assault and battery, a little over one-half the arrests for attempt at murder, a small fraction over one-half the arrests for disorderly conduct, not quite two-thirds the arrests for wife-beating, that they used to report under the old saloon system.

The grand jury of Birmingham testified: "We congratulate our county on the benefits derived from the prohibition law. The county has saved six thousand dollars on feeding prisoners alone. This means an average of seventy-one prisoners less for each of the ten months counted. This, we believe, is entirely due to prohibition. We find that crime is largely on the decrease, reports to the contrary notwithstanding." These are but specimen testimonies from Alabama that could be increased indefinitely.

GEORGIA.

Prohibition became State-wide in Georgia about the same time it did in Alabama. Atlanta, its largest city, of course became the hottest battleground in the State. After one

year's trial the Atlanta *Georgian* printed the following account of the operations of the law:

"Whatever may be the sinister arguments made by the croakers against the success of prohibition in Georgia, the logic of simple facts can not be overcome either by thirsty complaints or by doleful prophecies. The records of the police court of Atlanta, which is an excellent barometer, show that during the current year the number of cases tried before Recorder Nash Boyles has been reduced nearly fifty per cent. This in itself deals an effective blow to the higher critics of prohibition. But again: The post-office receipts, according to the figures furnished by Postmaster Blodgett, show an increase of nearly fifty thousand dollars over the corresponding returns for the last year under license. If the most unreconstructed anti can see any verification of his unsound logic in this little item, he must see it through the dyspeptic eyesight of his impaired digestion. It is not to be seen through any transparent medium. Moreover, the prediction in regard to vacant stores and offices has failed to materialize up to this time. Another wholesome sign of the upward trend is to be found in the prices which real estate sales are bringing in the local market."

These reports and testimonies from cities and States where prohibition has had and is still having its hottest fight, and is yielding its largest and most beneficent returns, we believe are quite sufficient to establish in the minds of candid men a conviction of its value. Similar testimonies could easily be added from Oklahoma, North Dakota, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and from every other city or State where prohibition has been given anything like a fair chance. All the friends of this policy ever ask is that it be given a fair trial, and then if it does not reduce drunkenness, poverty, accidents, ignorance, vice, crime, and civic wickedness and fraud, they will consent to the employment of other methods.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTY.

It is about twelve years since "The Committee of Fifty" issued its report upon one phase of its investigations in a volume entitled, "The Economic Aspect of the Liquor Problem." This is a volume of absorbing interest. There is every reason to believe that this committee, through its sub-committee, of which Hon. Carroll D. Wright was chairman, has been candid, painstaking, and exhaustive in its inquiries. Its report is a body of valuable facts which it was at very

great pains to obtain. The committee took several years to investigate, and extended its inquiries over a considerable portion of the country. The subjects to which this report directs special attention are these: The Liquor Problem in its Relation to Poverty, in its Relation to Pauperism, in its Relation to the Destitution and Neglect of Children, in its Relation to Crime; Relation of the Negroes to the Liquor Problem; Relation of the North American Indian to the Liquor Problem; and Social Aspects of the Saloon in Large Cities.

A careful perusal of this volume will convince one that the liquor traffic is a very great evil, if one needs to be convinced of that axiomatic truth. It must be admitted, however, that the conservative tone of this report places the percentages of pauperism, insanity, poverty, vice, and crime, for which the saloon must be held responsible, at a lower figure than those generally given by other investigators and statistical authorities. But this fact does not impair the value of the excellent work done; nor should it cool the ardor of those who, believing the saloon a great evil in human society, shall enlist in the determined campaign for its overthrow.

While this report does not deny that

many saloons exist in our great cities only to degrade and to minister to the vilest passions, yet it finds that many of them exist to fulfill a social need. Men are gregarious, and many of the laboring classes, and many of the poorer classes, who are not able to provide better social resorts, support the saloons in large numbers. They also found that there were almost no substitutes anywhere provided for these very classes and to supply those needs in harmless ways. Perhaps this feature of our temperance work needs to be more earnestly and extensively undertaken than has ever yet been attempted. If millions, seeking to gratify their social needs, are swallowed up by the saloon, is it impossible for Christian philanthropy to checkmate that influence by abundant, wholesome, and effective substitutes? The task is a great one, but not too great for consecrated wealth and regenerated philanthropy.

CHAPTER VI

THE SCIENTIFIC STATUS

For ages past the human race has had a firm belief in the value of alcohol, and has regarded it as one of the special blessings of heaven. This belief has been strongly buttressed in the opinion of medical men of all times and countries. Not until recent years have they questioned its usefulness both in health and sickness. In text-books and by precept it has been taught that in health it aids digestion and prolongs life; and that in disease it furnishes food in fever, supports the failing heart, sustains the digestion, and so carries the exhausted patient through the danger of disease.

The scientific basis of these opinions is now being called in question. What are the facts of our own nature, and upon what foundation does the doctrine of total abstinence rest? Here the layman must stand aside and listen while the medical expert speaks. While it is true that the intelligent observer may have become satisfied by his observations, and may have arrived at very definite

conclusions concerning the effect which alcohol produces upon the human system, yet is he obliged to yield his opinions to the findings of the pathologist, the chemist, and the physician who has subjected all opinions and all theories to the exacting demands of exhaustive experimentation.

This chapter will therefore be of value just in the degree that it contains the last word of science; that all of its findings have emerged from the crucible of exact and adequate test. So in these pages we will try to place before the reader almost wholly the opinions of medical men—opinions which have crystallized in their medical practice or have resulted from actual experiments carried on for the purpose of ascertaining the precise effect of alcohol upon the human system. The age of plausible theories, preconceptions, and wise guesses has passed. The world now demands knowledge.

We trust that we are fully alive to the importance of the subject here treated. Total abstinence is the rock on which the temperance reform is founded. If it can be shown that total abstinence from all intoxicants is not the voice of nature, then there can never be any temperance reform. In that case the movement would confine its efforts to the

best moral and legal means of reducing the harm of the traffic in liquors. But a reform that has for its program the utter destruction of all traffic in intoxicants, as well as the universal disuse of them by all classes of people, must be absolutely sure of its ground, and must know whether total abstinence is the teaching of nature or not. It demands to know the final answer to this question. This has been the quest of science in recent years; and for the past quarter of a century or more a vast amount of research has been expended upon the subject. It is therefore a matter of great gratification that we have the works of original investigators —able, scholarly, scientific, candid—the very cream of whose discoveries and conclusions we shall endeavor to embody in this chapter. We think that it will be admitted on all hands that, while the last word upon scientific temperance has not yet been said, still the minds of scientific men are pretty fully made up, and the verdict is rendered touching the real character of alcohol and its true value in the materia medica. And to-day the verdict is well-nigh unanimous to dethrone "the cruel old king" from the high station which he has held so long in the deluded imaginations of mankind.

I. IS ALCOHOL A FOOD?

That alcohol is a food has been the general opinion of mankind for ages. This is one of those delusive superstitions that has dominated the thought of the world almost without question for centuries past, and not until recent years has it been called to account. The purely scientific study of the question has been reserved for these last days. Is alcohol a food?

"A food may be defined as any substance which, when absorbed into the blood, will nourish, repair waste, and furnish force and heat to the body without causing injury to any of its parts or loss of functional activity."—*Horsley and Sturge.* "It is only lately we have begun to regard alcohol in its true light, as a drug, and not as a food."—*Sir Spencer Wells, M. D., F. R. S.* "Alcohol is not a food in the proper acceptation of the word, it is a sedative."—*Sir James Barr, M. D.* A statement that alcohol is not a food, but a poison, has been signed by ninety-nine German physicians, thirty-five Swiss, seventeen Austrian, and by enough English and American to bring the total number of signatures up to eight hundred. This in 1903. While this alone would not prove the contention, it shows a remarkable change of

scientific opinion upon this subject within a very few years. "It can not be doubted that any small production of energy by alcohol is more than counterbalanced by its deleterious influence as a drug upon the tissue elements, and especially upon the nervous system."—*Professor Schäfer,* University College, London. At the Anti-Alcohol Congress held in Vienna in 1901, Professor Hans Meyer, of Marburg, said, "On account of its injurious action alcohol can not suitably be considered a food."

It is the office of food to provide energy for muscular work, to keep up the heat of the body, to build up tissue, to prevent waste of tissue, and to do no harm to any organ, nor to the system as a whole. Food-stuff has been defined chemically as any substance that is oxidized in the body, that is, broken up into its component parts; but in addition to this, a genuine food must be able to contribute to the body in one or more of the ways just stated. It does not follow that because a substance is oxidized in the living tissue that therefore it is of use to the body. Many poisonous drugs are so oxidized, as phosphorus and morphia, as well as alcohol; but no one would class these as food. It seems to be the intention of the system to oxidize these poisonous drugs for the pur-

pose of eliminating them from the body. The mere fact that a substance is oxidized, "burnt up," in the system does not entitle it to a place on the list of foods. Nor is it yet certain that all the alcohol taken into the system is oxidized, but only a portion of it; while another portion is permitted to invade the body and work havoc upon the delicate structure of the nervous system.

About the only claim that is put forth in these days for alcohol as a food is that just discussed—that it is "oxidized in the system." This is the contention of the physiological sub-committee of the Committee of Fifty in their volume entitled "The Physiological Aspects of the Liquor Problem." This contention is supported by Dr. H. P. Bowditch, Professors C. F. Hodge and W. O. Atwater. But practically every eminent physiologist in the world would endorse the statement made at the Seventh International Congress Against the Abuse of Alcoholic Drinks, held in Paris in 1899, by Dr. Forel: "We do not deny that a part of the alcohol ingested undergoes combustion. But the question is, Who is the victim of the combustion? What does it avail that a little alcohol burns in the body if, in burning, the mischief it does exceeds the nourishment it furnishes? One may no more speak of the

nutritive effects of alcohol than of arsenic or other toxic substances." Professor Atwater says, "If we define food as that which yields energy, alcohol is food, but it is a very one-sided food." Is not this a "one-sided" definition, and would not such a definition admit carbolic acid to the list of foods, for it can be oxidized in the body and yield energy? If this definition had gone further and said that any substance which builds tissue or yields energy without doing any harm to the body is a food—which is a scientific definition—alcohol would be excluded from the list.

If one wants to see how a "scientific" man can wriggle to make a special plea for alcohol, let him examine this remarkable supposition, "If we exclude from the list of foods those things that are either injurious to health or tend to become so, we must exclude alcohol, in excess, but we must do the same thing with meat." This is uncandid, for it is the nature of meat to nourish the body without injuring it. The same can never be said of alcohol. Meat does no harm to the nervous system; alcohol does. Meat and other wholesome foods not only nourish the body but satisfy its appetites; alcohol blunts sensibility so as to prevent the feeling of satiety, and compels the drinker to

crave more. Against this effect the body interposes a natural safeguard which is always operative in relation to all wholesome foods, but fails as against alcohol. This fact alone would forever bar alcohol from the list of wholesome foods as the voice of common sense. And it is the judgment supported on all hands by scientific testimony.

If alcohol is food it should supply energy for muscular labor. This it has never been shown to do; exactly the opposite, rather. An enormous amount of testimony can now be furnished upon this point. If there is any one thing that was persistently believed by the mass of men touching strong drink, it was that alcohol manufactured energy or in some way supplied strength for muscular achievements. But no error in the world has been more effectually exploded. An elaborate series of experiments was conducted by Dr. Parkes, of Netley, in which he set two gangs of men to a certain work, one gang with and the other without beer. The gang drinking beer as often as they desired, led the other at first, but quickly fell behind the gang without the beer. This was kept up for several days; then the gangs were changed, the drinkers abstaining and the abstainers drinking; and precisely the same results followed. Drink invariably slowed

and weakened muscular movements, and hindered efficiency to a marked degree.

The leading military experts both in Europe and America are now averse to the use of liquors in the army. Nearly all agree that, whether in cold or hot climate, the soldier is better off physically and can accomplish more labor that requires muscular energy without than with liquor. This is the testimony of General Sir Francis Grenfell, whose "campaign in Egypt was a teetotal campaign." It is the testimony of Count von Haeseler, of the German army. Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener are very pronounced in their opposition to the use of spirits in the army. Dr. C. F. Wahlberg, of the Finnish army, declares that the soldiers who did not use strong drink were the most efficient, and that old drinkers were the first to break down by the exertions of a campaign. So strongly is this view held in America that liquor has practically been banished from the army, and Congress refuses to restore the "canteen" to the army posts. Indeed, all those who advocate the restoration of the "canteen" base their arguments upon other grounds than that of health and muscular efficiency. Sir Frederick Treves says: "As a work-producer alcohol is exceedingly extravagant, and, like

all other extravagant measures, leads to a physical bankruptcy. It is also a curious fact that troops can not work nor march on alcohol." Farmers, laborers, bricklayers, mechanics, mountain climbers, athletes, arctic and equatorial explorers, all have but one testimony: Drink hinders muscular efficiency. The old falsehood that it is a source of energy and necessary for the highest efficiency, has gone to the intellectual scrap-heap. The very best work of the world, both mental and physical, is now done by abstainers, and by practically no others. The present Emperor of Germany, one of the most enlightened and progressive rulers in the world, strongly recommends total abstinence to both his army and navy.

Another quality of food material is its ability to produce heat and thus to contribute warmth to the body. It is admitted that a certain portion of the alcohol taken into the body is oxidized, and that this combustion develops warmth; but it is found that the amount of heat thus liberated is more than counterbalanced by the loss of the same through the skin and by its harmful action on the nervous system. So that the entire effect of the alcohol is to lower the temperature of the body. Alcohol dilates the little glands of the skin by paralyzing them; this

permits the heat to escape rapidly, but in the process it creates a feeling of warmth upon the surface. This is why the man who is cold takes a little alcohol to "warm him up." When this warm glow is spread over the entire skin the sensation of being warm deceives the subject, whose vital organs at that moment are being cooled below normal. Exposure to cold weather in that condition is almost sure to result in freezing to death. Thus in fact alcohol always actually lowers the temperature of the body.

But alcohol does not stop with merely reducing the temperature of the body; it works harm to the system—to the protoplasm, to the nerves, and the finer tissues of the body, and thus more than destroys its value as an agent of heat, if it ever had any such value. Its effect is thus characterized by the London *Lancet:* "Sea water may be used in the boiler of a steam engine, and the steam from its evaporation will transmit the energy of the fuel to the revolving wheels; but its corrosive action on the steel forbids its use except in emergencies."

Another important characteristic of food is its ability to build up tissues. Ordinary foodstuffs, such as milk, bread, meat, and vegetables, besides storing energy, repair the daily loss of tissues by wear and friction.

Alcohol possesses no power to repair the constant waste of tissues. Even ale, which contains sugar, has a value for this purpose which is almost zero. The celebrated chemist, Liebig, states that nine quarts of the best ale contains no more food than would lie on the end of a table-knife. Two pounds of bread and three pints of milk will furnish food for a person one day, and will cost twenty-four cents. This amount of food, it is claimed, can be found in seven gallons of beer, which at retail cost five dollars and sixty cents and will contain two and two-thirds pints of clear alcohol. Is not beer for food a little too expensive? And is it not also a dangerous diet? The man who depends upon beer for nourishment might justly complain of "the high cost of living!" G. O. Higley, professor of Chemistry in the Ohio Wesleyan University, says: "Perhaps the ration which has met with most favor in scientific circles, and which has been most employed as a basis of the daily ration of armies, is that of the celebrated German physiologist, Voit, which is as follows: Proteids, four ounces; carbohydrates, eighteen ounces; fats, two ounces. A brief calculation shows that to furnish the four ounces of proteids and the eighteen ounces of carbohydrates needed daily, there must be ingested

to supply the proteids, one hundred and eight glasses of beer, at a cost of five dollars and forty cents, and to supply the carbohydrates, fifty-two glasses, at a cost of two dollars and sixty cents. Considered, then, with reference to the amount and kind of solid material present in it, beer is a highly expensive substance, since a man would need to swallow daily twenty-seven quarts of the liquid, containing twenty-nine ounces by weight, of absolute alcohol to supply himself with the necessary proteids, or about thirteen quarts to supply the carbohydrates. What a man needs is not beer, but plenty of good bread, meat, cheese, and other real foods to build up the body and to furnish the energy for his hard work."

When drinkers, especially of beer, take on fat, they think that they must be very healthy, and that beer is certainly both a food and a medicine. But the fact is that the alcohol in beer prevents the cells and living tissues from promptly converting the materials which are brought to them by the blood into their own proper substance. Alcohol is the cause of this delay, which results in the abnormal accumulation of fatty substances. Such a state is neither strength nor health, but a symbol of both weakness and disease. The popular belief that alcohol

acts as a food is due largely to its paralyzing and soothing effect upon the brain, deadening the clamor of hunger and deluding the victim that he is not in need of food.

It is not quite clearly settled whether alcohol fulfills the next requirement of a food —prevention of waste of tissue—but the evidence upon this point, though meager, and difficult to obtain, seems sufficiently conclusive to warrant the opinion that alcohol does not prevent the waste of tissue as does wholesome food. Physiologists are agreed that more knowledge upon this point is needed in order to establish the doctrine as strongly as are the other facts concerning alcohol. Upon this point the leading experimenters are Binz, who affirms, and Chittenden and Muira, who deny. But from the present state of knowledge it is practically unanimous that alcohol does not fulfill any of the requirements of a food. The fact seems well settled that the physiological effects of foodstuffs and those of alcohol are totally different.

"Fats, carbohydrates, and nitrogenous food after mastication at once begins to be digested and assimilated, and to fulfill the true functions of a 'food' by maintaining the natural temperature, pulse rate, and tissue repair of the body without any disturbance

of its mental and physical functions and activities. Alcohol, on the other hand, pursues a very different course, and by its anesthetic action hampers our mental and physical activities. It will be agreed that it is unscientific to describe as a 'food' any drug like alcohol, which so entirely fails to fulfill the functions of foodstuff or to come up to the standard of what we expect and obtain from genuine food—something which, while being wholly innocuous in its effects on the body, is also able to afford ample means of work-production and of tissue growth."—*Horsley and Sturge.*

II. IS ALCOHOL A STIMULANT?

The dictionary defines a stimulant as anything which increases vital action in the organism or in any of its parts. We are now to inquire whether alcohol has power to meet the requirements of this definition. Does it increase vital action of the brain, the nervous system, the muscles, the heart, the lungs, the circulatory system, the respiratory system, or any other part of the human anatomy? For ages it was the almost universal opinion of mankind that alcohol was a stimulating agent, and it was therefore invoked to aid in almost all strenuous efforts and on all occasions when hard work was to be done.

But this old falsehood has received some severe jolts of late. Careful experimentation has undoubtedly exposed the error and relegated it to the rubbish pile.

That delicate mechanism which is distributed throughout the body and which controls the action of all of our organs is the nervous system. By it the muscles are governed, by it the glands control secretions, by it our very mental states—thought, memory, affections, volitions—become operative. It is so vital to all functional activity that when the body is denied food, the nervous system will continue to subsist upon the other tissues of the body. It is customary to think of the nervous system as being divided into the brain, the spinal cord, and the nerves, including the sympathetic nerves.

The brain is the imperial organ of the body. All our mental powers and activities are dependent upon it, so also are all our vital actions, such as breathing and the beating of the heart. The brain must therefore be in normal condition in order to give expression to our mental states and to direct our organic activities.

This organ is exceedingly susceptible to the harmful influence of narcotic drugs. It should at all hazards be protected from their assaults, for it has to control all organic

functions in the body and enable them to do their work. The brain grows for thirty years, and during all that time it is especially sensitive to the effects of overwork, lack of proper food, and to the use of drugs. The system of which it seems to be the chief organ is the special agent of the soul, and the effects which alcohol produces upon it can best be investigated by inquiring what result alcohol produces upon one's thinking, one's feeling, and one's volitional activities.

The higher psychic functions of the brain are to aid in the production of thought. It is thus the organ of the intellect; and it is pertinent to inquire how alcohol affects the intellect. It is a matter of common observation as well as of careful experiment that liquor taken into the system almost immediately quickens mental activity; but soon a reaction sets in, and this state is quickly followed by sluggish mentality, and that, finally, if more be taken, by utter collapse of mentality. These are immediate effects; but there are effects more remote and permanent. It is a matter of general observation that drinkers "gradually develop nerve changes which reveal themselves at first by loss of energy or a lessened capacity for business and diminished attention to detail. Intellectually the brain failure evinces itself

by dullness, stupidity, and unreasonable errors." And the victim is always averse to attributing these things to their real cause. This puts him in the danger class, for he is steadily losing his power to control his growing appetite for alcohol. Deeper drinking ends in intoxication. The brain is stupefied. Mentality has vanished, and alcohol stands convicted of being not a stimulant, but an agent of paralysis. The young man who swallows a pint of whisky at a sitting will probably never know his own name again in this world. See how it operates. A little dulls the brain; more stupefies the intellect; still more is taken, and the deadening effect is distributed over the entire nervous system; the nerve-centers are paralyzed, coma deepens, and death ensues. This paralyzing effect is quickly reached; but there is another result of a debauch, which is not quite so immediate, which denies to alcohol the honor of being a stimulant—the reaction, exhaustion, headache, and general feeling of being "below par," which always follows a night of revelry. Then the brain has partially recovered from the paralysis, but is fagged with exhaustion. Thus alcohol, instead of being a manufacturer of energy, is a waster of energy; it is not a provider, but a robber.

Perhaps the most deft and exhaustive ex-

periments ever undertaken to test the effect of alcohol upon the mental action are those of Kraepelin, of Heidelberg. With various kinds of apparatus — signals, revolving drums, chronographs, and the like—he sought in every possible way to find out the precise effect produced by small doses of alcohol upon the subject in clogging mental action or in lowering the speed of nerve and thought movement. He found that after taking a small amount of alcohol the subject responded more quickly to a signal; but after a little time had elapsed the movement became slower and soon dropped below the normal. He extended his investigations to adding figures, up, down, crosswise, reading aloud, reciting, memorizing, and a great variety of similar exercises. All the tests yielded but one result—sluggishness both of mind and memory; and this, be it remembered, though the amount of alcohol was always small.

Other experiments have been carried on at different times and by different specialists; experiments in various kinds of labor, where the time-element is important, such as typesetting, and the outcome is always the same. Alcohol slows up mental action and delays nervous response. Its effects are exactly opposite to that of a true stimulant, and it is

therefore denied a place in that class. Dr. Robert Jones testified before the Interior Departmental Council on Physical Deterioration that "alcohol especially affects the motor system, and creates an enormous loss to the community through destroying the productiveness of the skilled craftsman." This is to-day the well-nigh universal opinion; no one seems to dispute it but the victim of alcohol himself. He is always sure that he is doing more and better work with alcohol than without it. "Whoso is deceived thereby is not wise."

If the harmful effects of alcohol upon the human person were limited to the intellect and those physical actions which co-ordinate with the mind, its evil would be mainly confined to the victim himself; but alcohol affects the sensibility as well. Here its evil effects become even more pronounced, for so much of life and the happiness of others are made up of the issues of our emotional nature. Thus under the influence of alcohol, "love, joy, ardor, courage, hate, fear, rage, passion, all seek expression which, unless directed by reason, may become a danger—love degenerating into passion, joy into orgy, ardor into impatience, and courage into recklessness." A drug capable of arousing the emotional nature like this must be held

responsible for much of the desolation wrought in human hearts and homes.

Men and women are affected by it somewhat differently. In both cases self-control is lost. Women will become excited, hysterical, the temper will become irritable; they will often be haunted with strange and absurd fears, will sob and cry, romance and rave; but they will almost invariably deny that they ever touch a drop of liquor. Men are subject to explosions of feeling, sometimes of joy and sometimes of bitterness and revenge; self-respect quickly weakens; loud and excited talk with little sense, indecent words and immoral deeds are almost sure to follow; often a savage spirit is exhibited, and a determination to seek revenge upon some imagined foe. This state is often followed by moroseness and obliviousness to duty, neglect of wife and children, obliteration of all sense of obligation as father and citizen, temptation to suicide, the commission of crime, and abandonment of home and family. All these result from the power of alcohol to change, weaken, or destroy the natural affections of the heart. And these effects are so palpable that they can not escape the most casual observation. Professor Hillier, of Kiel, who reported autopsies of three hundred suicides, found evidence that more than twenty-two

per cent of females and more than seventy-three per cent of male suicides were due to the use of strong drink.

The relation between alcohol and crime is receiving, as it ought, the serious attention of practically the whole world. Every modern nation is inquiring into it and making investigations more or less thorough upon the subject. That there is a relation is recognized as an absolute certainty, differing only in percentages which may be affected by local conditions. But alcohol, by exaggerating and perverting the emotional nature, or by substituting unreasoning passion or delirium in its place, becomes the mightiest agent of crime known among men, and its annual record is appalling. It paralyzes the angel and liberates the demon in man, and the emotions, feelings, affections of the heart are deranged, degraded, prostituted, or entirely overthrown. When alcohol invades the heart it pillages the temple of the soul.

The verdict of all the experiments that have been made is practically this: Alcohol even in small doses diminishes the output both of muscular and mental work. It impoverishes the quality and reduces the quantity of all kinds of labor. The very best physical results are obtained without its use altogether. It dulls the hearing, blurs the

sight, weakens the muscles, enfeebles the heart, and stupefies the brain. It hinders digestion. The age-long claim that it increases the flow of gastric juice has been disproved. It increases the flow of gastric mucous, as any irritant would, but does not increase the secretion of pepsin. Its gastric action is therefore simply as an irritant, and if the appetite seems stronger under its use, it is because of this irritation. It is therefore not a safe nor a helpful agent in digestion.

Nor is the action of alcohol upon the heart, in the apparent increase of power, due to a stimulation of the muscle itself, as formerly supposed, but to a paralysis of the delicate nervous mechanism that controls the heart. Deprived of this check, the heart beats faster and harder, pumping the blood more actively, but hastening to exhaustion. The governor is disabled and the engine pounds away without control. The small vessels dilate, the face is flushed, there is a rush of blood to the brain, which at first produces a sense of exhilaration, and the person naturally concludes that he has received new energy, when actually the condition is one of paralysis of control. For a little time there is abnormal activity throughout the system, but soon a reaction sets in and a steady fall be-

gins. The hectic flush is mistaken for the glow of life; the temporary exhilaration is taken for health; the mental blur is believed to be intellectual brilliance; but all are danger-signals. They are the foreshadows of disaster.

III. IS ALCOHOL A MEDICINE?

Perhaps there is no deception so unfounded which this "mocker" has long wielded over the thought of the world as the belief that alcohol possesses medicinal virtues. Alcohol has been resorted to in every form of disease, prescribed by physicians, lauded in medical works, swallowed by the ignorant, gulped down by the sensuous, and everywhere heralded as a life-saver. Whether it has ever cured anybody or not, it is but common observation that it has killed thousands where it has cured one.

We have shown in the first section of this chapter that alcohol is almost universally regarded by physiologists and other scientific men as having practically no food value. With substantially the same unanimity the medical profession now throughout the world pronounces alcohol a narcotic drug, and universally classes it with chloroform and ether. In pharmacy it is always classed as a poison. From these classifications there

is practically no dissent, even from the ever-diminishing few who still hold to the idea that it has some food value because it is oxidized in the body and thus made to contribute a little heat. But it has already been shown that there are many poisonous substances which will oxidize in the system and produce heat, not one of which has ever been a candidate for a place among foodstuffs.

The celebrated physician von Ziemssen describes the action of alcohol as follows: "The outward symptoms are like those induced by other narcotics. The nerve-centers have their function stimulated at first, then their activity is gradually abolished for a time, modified by the quantity of poison taken, and by the time the poison is working; so that we see a variety of phenomena—sometimes only the stage of excitement, sometimes the paralytic." This is a classical definition, and is confirmed by students of the subject generally. So strongly are these opinions becoming intrenched in the medical mind that alcohol's place in the materia medica may well be considered in dispute. It is more than thirty years since Dr. N. S. Davis, of Chicago, began to proclaim that there was nothing that alcohol could do for man that a harmless agent could be found in the materia medica to do just as well.

And that being the case, he refused to use alcohol altogether.

Alcohol is a narcotic drug; and a narcotic drug is defined to be a substance like opium, belladonna, and conium, which, taken in medical doses, generally allays morbid susceptibility, relieves pain, and induces sleep; but which in larger doses, poisonous doses, produces stupor, coma, or convulsions, and when given in sufficient quantity causes death. A poison is defined to be any substance which, when introduced into the animal organism, is capable of producing a morbid, noxious, or deadly effect upon it. Alcohol seems to fulfill the conditions of each of the definitions, and for these reasons it has of late been almost universally classed with narcotic drugs. A narcotic drug it certainly is, and its value as a medicine is now under the keenest scrutiny. Already there is a vast body of testimony to dispute its claim to a legitimate place in the materia medica, or which would assign it a place, if at all, of dishonor, as having little real value in any system of therapeutics.

In the days before antiseptic surgery, alcohol was thought to be a necessity in cases following surgical operations. It is now almost banished from this department of healing. Up to within a few years alcohol was

extensively used in treatment of fevers; now it has nearly disappeared. The Metropolitan Asylum, London, expended during the year 1894 thirteen hundred and eighty-eight pounds sterling for alcohol to be used in its care of patients; ten years later, though the number of patients had risen from twenty thousand to twenty-seven thousand, the alcohol bill was but five hundred and fifteen pounds—proportionately a considerable less than one-third!

The great advance of modern medicine has had the effect of largely diminishing the use of alcohol, independently of any change of theory as to its action. In the past large quantities were used in serious blood infections, such as sepsis or blood-poisoning after operations, also in diphtheria, typhoid fever, and pneumonia. The amount used in surgical wards of any great hospital before the days of antiseptic surgery is almost incredible. But the blessings conferred upon the human race by the discoveries of Lord Lister and of M. Pasteur that pus, inflammation, and fever after surgical operations were caused by germs, and that the proper way to treat the patient was to keep out the germs, are unspeakable. In those days every stroke of the surgeon's knife carried deep into the tissue a multitude of active germs

bent on mischief. Every dressing of the wound brought in more. Is it any wonder that the death rate was high, or that the patient recovered only after a long siege with these internal foes? In order to combat these conditions, the main reliance was placed upon alcohol. Often a pint a day was given the patient; and as nearly every case developed the same symptoms, the total amount of alcohol used was prodigious. To-day all that has changed. Septic fevers almost never follow surgical operations—thanks to antiseptic surgery; and alcohol has accordingly been banished from the operating-table and from the surgical ward. Its use in hospitals generally is fast diminishing.

If one were to examine the scientific articles on alcohol published in all the medical journals of the world during the past five years, he would be surprised to learn how far medical thought is getting away from the views that held it in bondage a quarter of a century ago. There is but one prominent writer in recent years who has appeared in the medical journals to withstand this rising tide. In a recent address before the British Medical Association, Dr. McDonald expressed the opinion that the pendulum was swinging too far, and that in small quantities —he emphasizes this—it could be used with

profit in many diseases. He says, however, "in the history of therapeutics there is nothing more striking than the remarkable modification that has come over medical opinion in the last thirty or forty years with regard to the remedial use of alcohol." He closed his address by saying: "Alcohol is a drug, and must be administered with the same precision and discernment which we employ in prescribing other powerful drugs. This guarded testimony of the last belated arrival is of value to the medical profession alone; and this book does not presume to offer advice to that noble profession. But between the lines the ordinary layman can read the doom of alcohol as a therapeutic agent.

An eminent physician, Dr. Geo. W. Webster, president of the Illinois State Board of Health, has this to say: "The alcoholic problem is more important than tuberculosis because it costs more lives and more money. It costs the United States in direct money-loss over two billion of dollars, and it causes directly or indirectly ten per cent of all the deaths in the United States. It predisposes to infection, destroys acquired immunity, prevents the occurrence of artificial immunity, lowers the vitality, and increases the mortality in all diseases and in surgical operations. It lessens the power of individu-

als to resist the injurious influence of extremes of heat and cold. Alcohol should always be classed as a poison, and never as a food or a stimulant. The alcoholic problem is a medical one."

We feel that we can render no better service than to place before the reader here some of the well-digested opinions of medical and other scientific men concerning the nature and harmful effects of alcohol. Upon these testimonies the layman, who has no opportunity to make original investigations, must rely for accurate knowledge of this vital question.

Dr. T. D. Crothers, superintendent of the Walnut Lodge Hospital, Hartford, Conn., says: "The latest and most authentic statistics show that over ten per cent of all mortality is due to the abuse of alcohol, and fully twenty per cent of all diseases is traceable to this cause; also that over fifty per cent of insanity, idiocy, and pauperism spring from this source. All authorities agree that from seventy-five to ninety per cent of all criminality is caused by the abuse of alcohol. These and other well-authenticated facts indicate the necessity of a more exact medical study of alcohol and its effects and influence on society and the individual."

Dr. J. H. Kellogg, founder and superin-

tendent of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, bears this testimony: "I have been practicing medicine for the past thirty-five years, and have never used alcohol as a remedy. I have thirty assistant physicans working with me, and treat from two to six thousand cases annually. None of us make use of alcohol in any form as a tonic or stimulant remedy. We find no necessity for its use, and believe it could be entirely eliminated from the materia medica, not only without any loss, but with a great gain to human welfare. Beer is in no sense a tonic. It is instead a depressing agent. Experiments have proven that men do less work with beer than without it. Disease of the kidneys is most common among beer drinkers. It is well known to surgeons that beer drinkers are very poor subjects for operations, as their wounds are very likely to suppurate, and complications of various sorts occur more frequently than in abstainers. Beer does not have the general endorsement of leading medical and scientific authorities the world over, but the reverse. The attitude of the medical profession at the present time is decidedly against the habitual use of alcohol, and is becoming increasingly pronounced against the use of alcohol as a remedy."

In the *Lancet,* London, in 1907, was pub-

lished a rather cautious and guarded approval of alcoholic beverages, signed by sixteen physicians. The liquor interests had it photographed and given wide circulation. The British Medical Temperance Association issued a counter declaration, signed by six hundred and sixty-four English, European, and American scientific men and physicians, which was not photographed nor distributed by the beer propaganda. This remarkable document affirms:

1. That experiments show that even small quantities of alcohol are injurious, and that it is not a food.

2. That it increases liability to disease and shortens life.

3. That abstainers do more work, live longer, have less sickness, and quicker recovery.

4. That bodily functions are best performed without alcohol, in spite of delusions to the contrary.

5. That alcohol injures the offspring and leads to the deterioration of the race.

"Alcohol vitiates the blood, inflames the stomach, overtaxes the heart, destroys the kidneys, hardens the liver, and softens the brain."—*Dr. Norman Karr.*

"There is no vital organ of the body in which there is not induced, sooner or later,

more or less disorder and disease by alcoholic drinks."—*Sir A. Thompson, M. D.*

"Alcoholic drinks are poisonous in the same sense as are opium, arsenic, chloroform, etc., and should be sold under the same laws as these poisons."—*Dr. N. S. Davis.*

"Good health will, in my opinion, always be injured by even small doses of alcohol."—*Sir Andrew Clark, M. D.*

"I have no hesitation in attributing a very large proportion of some of the most painful maladies which come under my notice to the ordinary and daily use of fermented drink taken in quantities which are considered moderate."—*Sir Henry Thompson, M. D., F. R. S.*

"When alcohol is taken it never gets further down than the stomach. The lower gate of the stomach, the pyloris, utterly refuses to let it pass into the lower and finer intestines. We can not wonder sufficiently at the strictly prohibitory sense of this organ. For if alcohol could pass into the finer tissues and reach the lacteals, they would wither at once and death would certainly ensue. The stomach has therefore to extrude the alcohol through its coats into the blood so that it may be carried out of the system by the skin, the lungs, the kidneys. Until this extrusion takes place this devil alcohol simply plays de-

struction in the human system, in every organ through which it passes in proportion to the amount used. It excites the stomach, or, if used in quantity and for a long time, destroys that organ by inflammation, burns it up. It burns the life-carrying corpuscles of the blood and makes its serum a thin, watery, and useless fluid. It inflames the liver until it becomes a horrible hobnailed mass of sores. It inflames the kidneys so that Bright's disease is liable to ensue upon the least provocation. Not an organ of the body but cries out, 'I am poisoned,' and by its inflammation shows its frantic effort to get rid of the destroying corrosive that turns its very life into inflammatory disease. God has written His law of prohibition against alcohol in the volume of the human body."—*Dr. Clarence True Wilson.*

It is a common thing in recent years to hear a death attributed to "heart-failure," as though heart-failure were some form of disease. He who has given earnest heed to what is recorded in these pages can not be in doubt as to at least one chief cause of heart-failure. The heart often stimulated, and very often over-stimulated, and just as often partially and temporarily paralyzed, finally gets to be a jaded heart, enervated and enfeebled. In this condition it is unable

to respond further to any form of stimulation, though the physician earnestly seek to reinforce its vital energy, as he endeavors to do in the crisis of disease. This will be understood if one remembers that an accute attack of disease like pneumonia, diphtheria, or even erysipelas or a surgical operation makes an immediate and insistent demand upon the heart for renewed energy in keeping up the circulation. But the heart, already exhausted with the poison of nicotine or alcohol, is like a jaded horse pulling a load that taxes its strength to the limit, stalled at the foot of a steep hill. He can go no further. So the overtaxed and jaded heart can not contribute the added energy to carry the patient through the crisis of disease. It breaks down. The patient dies of heart-failure. This may be illustrated quite fully in case of pneumonia. One lung is partially or wholly congested. No air can enter it, nor can it now contribute its part to the oxidization of the blood that the heart strives to force into it. This purification of the blood must therefore be done by the other lung, or death will ensue. So the heart is immediately called upon for added energy to force the blood at an accelerated rate of speed into the sound lung. The task is a great one. The heart responds as best it can for a time,

but after a day or two of unavailing effort it sinks in exhaustion. The patient dies, not of pneumonia, but of "heart-failure."

IV. IS MODERATE DRINKING SAFE?

If recent investigations and the modern medical practice have established one thing more certainly than another, it is that liquor taken in very small quantities and persisted in produces the disease known as neurosis or alcoholism, just as certainly as immoderate drinking does; also, that a diseased condition of the vital organs—brain, heart, kidneys, lungs, liver, and stomach—is just as certain to be contracted by moderate as by more excessive drinking. One who has carefully considered the testimonies quoted in this chapter, and others of similar import, from eminent practitioners, can not have escaped this conviction. Indeed, one needs nothing more than an observant eye and a reflective mind to have arrived at these conclusions independently. These are matters of the commonest observation. And it would appear that science has no voice more pervasive and insistent than that which sounds out its warning against the use of alcoholic liquors of any kind and in any quantity. He who disregards these friendly warnings and goes on heedless of their cry in his behalf is in

the position of extreme danger. It is almost certain that he is double-crossed for failure, dishonor, and a drunkard's doom.

One of the truest notes of warning that has been sounded in recent times against the danger of moderate drinking was sounded at the Centennial Temperance Congress at Saratoga Springs in June, 1908, by Dr. L. D. Mason, vice-president of the American Society for the Study of Inebriety and Drug Neurosis. This warning is of special value as it comes from one who has had immense experience both as a student of the subject and as a practitioner; it is therefore the voice both of the science and the art of healing, and has the endorsement of practically the entire medical fraternity. In this splendid article he says:

"In the first place the term 'moderate drinking' can not be used in a scientific or practical or safe sense. There is no law making the daily or habitual use of alcoholic beverages safe, even in moderate quantities. We can not say to an individual, 'Take a glass of wine three times a day with your meals, and we will guarantee that you will not exceed that quantity, or that you will not suffer from some form of alcoholic change or degeneration, will not in time become a neurotic drunkard manifesting those changes

somewhere in the nervous system, or become the subject of the glandular form of alcoholic degeneration, as it affects the liver, lungs, kidneys, or produces other tissue changes;' and this because you do not know how much or how little will stir up the sleeping lion of heredity, or awaken the dormant alcoholic diathesis or tendency; how much or how little will in time plunge the so-called moderate drinker over the line of safety, if there be such, into the abyss of uncontrollable, immoderate, excessive drunkenness."

The liquor habit is supported by a multitude of fallacies, which are brought out on every possible occasion and always overworked. While they are downright falsehoods and have been exposed and exploded a thousand times, yet they serve the purpose of a cheap excuse for indulgence, and so work their ruin on the lives of men.

One popular fallacy is that, as there were no downright drunkards in a man's immediate ancestry, therefore he is perfectly safe in pursuing a course of moderate drinking. The fact is that the starting point of an alcoholic degenerate can generally be traced to some ancestor, near or remote, who, though he may never have been drunk in his life, yet who frequently and perhaps constantly used liquor. This very ancestor may have

prided himself upon his moderation and self-control, but who, nevertheless contributed the virus of alcoholism to his posterity. From this heredity no one can be certain that he is immune. There is probably not a family, certainly not many, in this country that is absolutely free from this alcoholic taint. So no man can presume upon his immunity, nor boast of his freedom from its dangers. This heredity must explain those unanticipated lapses into drunkenness which ever and anon startle us by their unexpectedness.

What a common thing it is to hear one proclaiming the old fallacy that he drinks only moderately and occasionally, and can stop whenever he wants to. This old falsehood is a double-header, for, in the first place, every drunkard on earth began as a moderate drinker; and in the second place, he who can stop whenever he wants to is almost absolutely certain never to want to! But if the time should come when he really wants to, he will find for the first time that he is bound hand and foot, body and soul by the cords of an appetite which only God can sever. More than one hundred thousand men go down to a drunkard's grave and on to a drunkard's doom in this country every year, each one of whom triumphantly proclaimed that he could stop whenever he wanted to!

It is a pernicious fallacy to think that liquors must be kept in the house for emergencies. If they have no value as medicine, food, nor stimulant, what office can they possibly fulfill in emergencies? The family bottle—kept for emergencies till the doctor comes—first aid to the injured—is generally first aid to the thirsty. The devil in this family bottle has never done any one any good, has never kept any one out of his coffin, but has been the means of bringing many gray hairs down in sorrow to the grave. And it would be humorous, if it were not so serious, to note how that same family bottle operates to shorten the intervals between emergencies! In time the emergencies become crowded so close together that one would think that the entire family was in a chronic state of emergency.

The drink habit may be acquired or the sleeping demon aroused by the flavor of alcohol in our food. "The idea of mince pie or plum pudding without brandy, or hot sauce without a flavoring of sherry or madeira—why, this is culinary heresy. We let down the bars, on the basis of a social excuse, and we put poison in our food. I knew a drunkard's wife who prepared cake flavored with wine for a drunkard's children. Let us not tolerate a poison in our homes as

a remedial agent, or in our kitchens for culinary purposes, or for flavoring our food. What shall we say of the social glass at the wedding or upon rare festive occasions? Happily we believe that the time is coming when alcohol in any form will be regarded as a non-essential in these things. Even now a man can maintain his social standing and influence in every walk of life and not indulge in either the moderate or even the occasional use of alcoholic beverages, and so avoid their attendant dangers."

It is sad to read, as we often do in the newspapers, the account of some aged man who is well known and eminent, whose remarkable vitality or long life is attributed to the moderate but long-continued use of wine or beer or some other alcoholic liquor. Multitudes reading these extraordinary accounts hasten to the conclusion that this unusual strength and longevity are to the credit of alcohol, when they are generally in spite of alcohol, and due to an unusual inheritance. No account is ever made in parallel columns of the almost infinite multitudes whom alcohol has slain since this paragon of moderation began his career. And the still sadder part of it is that an eminent, and often a good man, should lend his moral influence to the drink curse by allowing it to be known

that his pipe or his bottle was the cause of his remarkable age and energy.

The story is told that John B. Gough at a dinner party was offered a glass of wine by the hostess, which he politely declined; whereupon the lady exclaimed, "Why, Mr. Gough, I suppose you would refuse cheese perhaps, if it were offered you!" "Yes, madame," he replied in effect, "I would refuse cheese if cheese caused sorrow and sighing, wrecked homes, suicides, and murders; I would even refuse cheese!"

Another story is told of a doctor and a bishop who sat at a dinner table. The bishop sipped his wine, but the doctor refused to drink. Observing this, the bishop said, "Doctor, do you not like wine?" "Yes," said the doctor, "I love it." "Then, why do you turn down your glass?" asked the bishop. "For example's sake," was the doctor's reply. A greater than either once wrote: "Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no meat as long as the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend."

One of the most harmful fallacies is that of a mother who thinks that there is no harm in giving alcohol or some soothing-syrup containing alcohol to her babe. The babe is almost certain to nurse the alcohol taste from

the breast of a drinking mother, or to have aroused the tendency to the alcohol appetite by the custom, so prevalent among the lower classes, of doping infants with alcoholic mixtures. This is a sad blunder in the treatment of helpless infants. The mother who values her exemption from the discomforts of crying babe more than she does the future safety of her child, or who will secure that exemption at the cost of predisposing her child to a drunkard's fate, is not worthy the sacred name of mother.

The patent medicine fallacy is constantly working its harm to men and women. People foolishly imagine that the medicinal elements found in a bottle of patent medicine will neutralize the harmful effects of the alcohol, or that alcohol in a bottle of medicine is in some way robbed of its death-dealing quality by the association. When the alcohol appetite has been thus formed, as it almost certainly will be, they find, alas! when it is too late, that they have been deluded and robbed and ruined by an old threadbare patent medicine lie! And is not the same peril here present whenever the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is celebrated with the use of intoxicating wine? We have heard excuses offered for about every stupid and silly thing in this world, but we do not re-

member ever to have heard even an excuse offered for this un-Christian act. The danger of reviving an old passion for drink or of creating a new one is so imminent as to stamp the custom with condemnation. What could be more incongruous than to celebrate the great sacrifice of our Lord with broth furnished by Satan!

It will be readily admitted that the subject of Scientific Temperance is rather too large to be adequately discussed in a single chapter of this book. But we trust it has had fair treatment so far as space would allow. There are many branches of the subject which have not had a hearing; but we feel that the main contention has been fairly stated, and to a limited extent advocated and maintained. The claim has long been set up for alcohol that it is a food, though it has compelled more women and children to eat poor food, and has actually starved more men, women, and children than any other thing in this world. Famine has slain its thousands, but alcohol has starved its ten thousands. Its friends have hugged the delusion that alcohol is a stimulant, though it has weakened and paralyzed and sent to their death more human beings than stands to the credit of any other agent in this world, not even gunpowder excepted. For ages also

men have clung to it as a medicine, though it has killed more people and dug more graves than war, pestilence, and famine combined! Then, to cap the climax of deception and absurdity, people are constantly setting up the claim that it is generally safe to use it in moderation! though of that vast army of many millions of drunkards in our country to-day who shovel one hundred thousand and more of their number into drunkards' graves every year, not a single man enlisted as a drunkard. All were moderate drinkers, and continued such until they became drunkards. And in most cases the drill period was short, and the promotion rapid. Most of them, nearly all, will remain drunkards until they fill drunkards' graves. To all this there can be but one fair, sane, inexorable conclusion:

"Touch not, taste not, handle not the accursed thing!"

CHAPTER VII

SYSTEM OF REGULATION

States and governments have long recognized the harm of strong drink and the evils resulting from the sale of it, and in modern times have endeavored to restrict these evils in various ways. The license system is the favorite method. This system proposes to regulate the traffic, to limit the number of places where drink is sold, the hours during which it may be sold, the kinds of liquors sold, and the persons to whom it may be sold, generally requiring that it be refused to minors and to habitual inebriates. Sales are not generally allowed on Sundays and election days. The other grimly humorous item is that the one keeping a saloon or other place where liquors are sold must be a "person of good moral character!" To all this is added a license fee or tax which is proposed as a fund to meet the additional expense of keeping the saloons under police regulation, and to compensate society for the damage and loss caused by drink.

Various systems of license or regulation

were tried by the American colonies before the Revolution, and by nearly all of the States since. But it is next to impossible to regulate so dangerous a traffic. It regards the license as permission to sell liquors, easily disregards the conditions, generally practices every possible device to evade the law, and press the sale of intoxicants. Drinking places have long been the resort of idle and immoral persons, the home of thieves, the recruiting places for graft and civic wickedness, and the haunts of political corruption. Instead of the business being controlled and limited by "regulation," its growth for more than a century, and especially during the last half of the century, has been altogether phenomenal. Sober men and women cry out in despair against its ravages. Regulation is a stupendous farce and failure. Communities often become alarmed and resort to extreme measures to abate the evil. Courts have exhausted the arts of speech in their attempts to characterize its wickedness.

Wherever an outraged community resolves to rid themselves of the nuisance for the protection of their homes and their families and children, and vote to refuse license, the traffic at once begins a system of blackmail; illicit selling in secret places known as

"blind tigers" and by similar names, becomes active; resort is had to every possible device that will bring discredit upon the no-license policy; and all this so that the liquor crowd can vociferously proclaim that "prohibition don't prohibit!"

It is doubtful whether any form of regulation or license, high or low, has in the least limited the amount of sales or in any way lessened the ravages of strong drink. It triumphantly beats its way in spite of conviction or conscience, the tears of mothers and the wail of helpless children, the groans of the dying and the curses of the damned, the laws of man and the voice of God! Nothing stays its progress. The system has certain well-defined characteristics—the humanity of a hyena, the generosity of a swine, the mercy of a wolf, and the sympathy of a crocodile—all these inspired by a spirit that is truly Satanic. That is why

"It loads the bier of each passing year
"With ten hundred thousand slain."

OBJECTIONS AGAINST LICENSE.

1. Strong drink is essentially an evil. Regulation does not touch nor in any way modify its intrinsic character. No legal safeguards can change its power to do harm by the millionth part of a hair's breadth.

The State may regulate the manufacture and sale of gunpowder, the location of slaughter houses and soap factories, the conditions under which arsenic and other deadly poisons may be sold, and a hundred other things which, if not regulated, would prove intolerable nuisances, though, when regulated, minister blessings to mankind; but the liquor traffic does not belong in that list: for it is bad—intrinsically bad—regulated or unregulated. The best regulated saloon will send its patrons to perdition just as quickly as the worst. Its liquors will make men drunk, turn decent men into beasts, break down character, destroy health, and ruin homes exactly the same as the lowest dive. You can not get the license so high but its poison will bring down the tallest citizen. All the silly prattle about "regulation" simply means, Let the saloon remain to carry on its deadly work! It is only a plea for the accursed thing. Such makeshifts always deflect attention from the real source of danger. It is *alcohol* that kills. That is the real demon, and regulation leaves its true character untouched. Make any provision you will, safeguard its sale as you may, only let alcohol be sold, and it will be "Death on the pale horse, and Hell following close behind." The regulation which it deserves,

and the only one that is worth while, is ANNIHILATION!

2. Regulation does not reduce drunkenness. We have had the license system ever since the Colonial days, and it has never reduced the amount of drink nor of drunkenness. In both of these respects there seems to be a steady and constant increase in every licensed community in the country. What justifies the expectation that license, high or low, should reduce the amount of liquors drunk or the amount of drunkenness? Why should one hope that the saloon, once licensed, should become a factor for the reduction of either? Is it not to the advantage of the saloon-keeper to sell all the liquor he can? And is he not under special spur to increase the volume of his business in order to be able to pay the license fee? The community has laid upon him this tax; will he not try in every way possible to get even with the community by increasing his sales? Is it not preposterous to expect that the granting of a license to sell will result in either abstinence or prohibition? Then, if it can not be shown that licensing the traffic reduces tne volume of drink, but rather increases it, what reason exists why right-minded people should favor the license system?

3. The granting of licenses does not do away with illicit selling. "Bootlegging" and "blind tigers" always flourish where saloons abound. The saloon business is essentially an immoral business, and wherever it is allowed to exist by law it proceeds to transcend its privileges in defiance of law. The enemies of prohibition constantly affirm that "blind tigers" always abound and flourish most in no-license territory. But this is not the truth. Every licensed city is infested with illicit liquor selling, because, however much the licensed saloon-keeper may desire to stop it, he dare not proceed against those engaged in it, knowing that if he take steps to expose them, they will at once retaliate by furnishing evidence that will put the saloon-keeper himself out of business. So both he and his police friends, who generally get enormous graft for protecting it, submit to the system in order to save the saloon itself. For this reason chiefly "blind tigers" flourish wherever saloons flourish.

4. The license fee is a money bribe paid to chloroform the public conscience. Saloon people are never weary of telling how much these fees add to the revenues of the city. They save enormous amounts of school taxes, help to build sidewalks and pavements,

and furnish the means for other public improvements. The ordinary citizen sees that and rejoices in the public benefit (!) which the saloons confer, and smugly facilitates himself upon his financial shrewdness. The few dollars of taxes which he vainly imagines the license fees save him are quite sufficient to blind his eyes to the moral harm they do, and to lull his conscience to slumber touching the blackest crime of the century! He never takes the pains to inquire whether the saloon-keepers or their already impoverished patrons pay these fees; nor whether there be not an offset of police expenses, crime, pauperism, loss of labor, disease, insanity, accidents, and murder sufficient to turn the financial balance to the other side. Any community that is gullible enough to believe that the saloon is a source of revenue to the city, or mean enough to filch its taxes from the pauperized victims of the grog shops, is sure, sooner or later, to reap a harvest of death; "for whatsoever a man soweth that also shall he reap."

5. It is impossible to enforce. "Regulation does not regulate." Saloon-keepers never respect, nor do they obey nor try to enforce the provisions of a license law. They have paid a fee for the privilege of selling drink, and they are forever trans-

gressing the limits and selling in defiance of the provisions of the law. They sell to minors, to drunkards, during forbidden hours, and on Sundays and election days, and are forever bribing the police for protection in these illegal acts. Thus their restricted legal privileges for which they have paid a license fee are expanded to cover every possible illegal act.

In this connection it is also worthy of remark that when a license is once granted, that portion of the public who are opposed to the license system withdraw their interest from the question of enforcing the law, feeling that the license restrictions are too insignificant to merit zeal or to reward the effort necessary to enforce them. Thus it comes to pass that when license is once granted the lawless saloon-keeper and the graft-taking policeman have it their own way, and the license system becomes an infinite farce so far as either regulating the saloon or enforcing the law is concerned.

6. The license system obliterates ethical distinctions and vitiates men's moral perceptions. Law should erect a moral standard, be educatory and uplifting. Such was the purpose of the Decalogue. It educated the moral sense of mankind. It established a moral standard and showed men what is

ethically right and what is wrong. Civil law may not be expected to perform the functions of a moral law, but it ought not to be immoral in its tendencies, nor should it hold a low moral standard before the public eye. That it certainly does when it provides for the continuance of a traffic as vicious and immoral as that in intoxicating drinks. The youth grows up with the feeling that what is licensed and protected by the laws of the State can not be morally wrong. He can not easily conceive of the State's doing a thing which is not morally right. He therefore unconsciously becomes educated to acquiesce in the infamy of the license system. The almost necessary implication is that men, so trained, become oblivious to their moral responsibility and feel exempt from any moral concern about the criminal business. Thus the law that was intended to regulate and control the traffic becomes a strong bulwark for its defense. Surely this must be a device of the devil to perpetuate the drink-curse among men. If that is its ultimate purpose, it is a masterpiece of Satanic art.

7. License exalts the liquor traffic to the seat of power. It bestows its favors upon a special number, and they become great and strong. The higher the license fee, the more exclusive and all-powerful they become.

They create a monopoly in the vile business. Competition is crushed out. A few saloonkeepers, or the brewers who generally own the saloons and pay these big license fees, dominate everything. The license system places the entire business practically in the hands of the brewers, who organize a trust, and almost before we know it the entire country is held in the grasp of one of the most gigantic and heartless monopolies—a combination that is able to control legislation and always concentrates its power in cities, counties, or States to defeat no-license efforts.

To accomplish this it subsidizes the newspapers, intimidates politicians, threatens candidates, inundates the community with its falsehoods about the "blessings of license," thus bringing the power of a strong and opulent National organization to accomplish the defeat of almost any proposed legislation or to carry almost any election that will advance its interests.

License is the tap-root of its power. Without it the traffic has no standing and no influence. With license it is entrenched and fortified, and wields almost unlimited power. The more money it pays for its privilege, the greater is its influence and the stronger is its grip upon the purse-strings of any com-

munity. Whoever favors license, therefore, casts his vote to energize, entrench, and enthrone this deadly foe of the home, of the school, of the Church, of labor, and of manhood. Millions of our fellow-citizens sell their souls to advance the fortunes of this giant wrong. Strange that self-respecting men are willing to contribute to the glory and power of such a heartless and cruel tyrant! If men withdrew from it their consent to license, and refused to support it by their votes, it would be quickly shorn of its power, and its empire would crumble into wreck. It lives by the votes of free men and by the license of free cities. Withhold these, and it dies!

How it does overawe men by the majesty of its millions and by the audacity of its power! How men do fall down before it as do the Hindus before the wheels of juggernaut, and allow it to roll over them and grind their manhood to powder, apparently happy if only they may contribute to its greatness and add to the calendar of its crimes! Wealth, even that filched from the hungry hands of children, from the washtub of outraged wives, and from the gaunt stomach of labor, overawes people, and they prostrate themselves before it and worship, even though the temple may be a brewery,

the altar a beer-barrel, and the high priest a brewer! Presidents and cabinet ministers patronizingly sit at its tables and bestow their praises upon it. It becomes respectable —eminently respectable! And by every token of its exaltation it multiplies its power to curse, to blight, and to damn! How all this vainglory would quickly vanish if the free citizen would but refuse it the support of his franchise! How all these pompous emblems of power would fall if the town, the city, the county, the State, and the Nation would withdraw from it that legal protection which it has no natural right, no common-law right, and no moral right to claim! The legal protection which the license affords furnishes it all the conditions for a greedy monopoly and enables it to dictate to the Nation while it sucks the very lifeblood out of human hearts.

Mankind have generally been able to recognize their enemies and to fortify themselves against them, or to compass their overthrow. But with this Satanic traffic, by every degree that it is exalted, by so much are men debased. The greater its crimes, the more oblivious men become to its hellish character. It belittles our manhood as we see men fawn and cringe before its arrogance and despotic power. This abject

stultification of our American citizenship by the infinite curse of the liquor traffic is the most pronounced outstanding moral loss that our country has ever suffered. It is the astonishment and the shame of our age. Unless this Nation wakes up and strikes for the recovery of its lost manhood, not only our Nation, but our very civilization itself will go down before this unspeakable Moloch.

LOCAL OPTION.

Local option is license or no-license, according to the expressed preference of the people in each locality. It proposes to transfer the responsibility of granting or of withholding licenses to sell intoxicating drinks from the town board, city council, or county judge, to the voters themselves. The principle is exactly the same in either case, because it is a well-established principle in American jurisprudence that no one has a legal right to manufacture or sell intoxicating liquors, and no one can sell them under the protection of law until he gets a license to do so. Therefore whoever grants the license, it is an option. Local option means that the voters themselves assume that responsibility. Thus the question as to whether license shall be granted is put to a popular vote. The principle is precisely the

same whether the territory be a town, county, or State. In the absence of any optional grant to sell liquors, prohibition prevails, since all of our higher courts have held that the making and selling of intoxicating liquors is not a common-law right of any citizen. Every license law in this country recognizes that fact and is based upon that principle. Most of those who are unfriendly to the liquor traffic regard local option as a step in the right direction, and generally hail an opportunity to express themselves upon it at the ballot-box. They are supported in this opinion by the fact that it is generally more easy to secure a majority of the voters against license than it is to get a majority of a town board or a city council, who were not elected upon this issue, to oppose license; or, to put it another way, it is generally more easy for the saloon interests to control a town board or a city council than it is for those interests to control a majority of the voters. So, many temperance men favor local option as affording them a chance to utter their protest against the traffic. And they generally esteem this a privilege whether they secure a majority at the ballot-box or not.

To a vast majority of temperance men local option seems a step in the right direc-

tion. They feel that it must lead in the end to total prohibition. Therefore they favor it, not as the goal, but as leading toward the goal. We should commend their zeal and rejoice in their attitude of hope, for we should never be willing to withhold our cordial support to any campaign against the saloon. There are, however, some phases of the local option question that should challenge serious attention. In a treatise like this every possible phase of every proposition and of every proposed plan of campaign ought to be fully scanned and set forth. This will aid us to find the truth as well as to select wisely among the schemes proposed for the final solution of the liquor problem. At the risk of repeating what has often been thought, we venture to call attention to some of these phases of the local option plan:

1. Local option is too local. Its enemies strive to keep the locality involved as small as possible; its friends generally seek to enlarge the local unit as much as possible. But in all cases the territory is too limited. A town, ward, city, county, and sometimes a State may be concerned in the policy. In every case the territory, if it becomes dry, is surrounded by territory that is wet, and is constantly being inundated with all the evil influences and associations of the wet policy.

It is forever like the hare pursued by the hounds. The benefits which such a policy promises are always thus compromised or utterly destroyed. After years of trial good people become discouraged, and there is a return to the license policy. This is no more of an objection against local option than it is against prohibition, unless one regards local option as the goal and end of the reform; in that case they are different. The ultimate issues of the great reform are the total annihilation of the liquor traffic. No halting or imperfect measures can be accepted as final.

This unfortunate situation is bad enough generally, but is often made worse by the constant shipment of liquors into the dry territory from without; and until the interstate commerce law as well as the laws of the States shall be so amended as to protect dry territory, the local option policy will continue to go limping on its way and making little progress toward the solution of the drink evil. With all commercial agencies and all common carriers in league for the overthrow of the local option policy, as at the present time, it must be confessed that that policy is not having a fair chance, nor is it making a conspicuous success. It is too local ever to solve the drink problem.

2. Local option is too optional. As long

as it is optional, the drink problem can never be solved. As long as it is liable to be overturned at the very next election, it can never rise to the dignity and power of a settled policy. That there is ever a chance to overturn the policy at the very next election makes it certain that its enemies will never die, nor sleep, nor retire from the active and aggressive campaign for its ultimate overthrow. The hope of a future success keeps them ever alert and active. They seek by every possible act to discredit the no-license policy. They are forever planning political schemes to achieve success. In the very nature of things the local option policy can never settle any question of sentiment and human action and habit. It can only prolong the agony and furnish means to perpetuate the crime. How could human slavery have been destroyed by local option? How could racetrack gambling have been uprotted by such a policy? How could the Louisiana Lottery have been annihilated by submitting it to a popular vote every two years? How could laws to protect the Christian Sabbath or to overthrow the white slave traffic ever have found a place upon our statute books if these subjects were to be submitted biennially to a popular vote? Is it not likely that we shall make more prog-

ress in overthrowing the saloon curse when we adopt a plan of dealing with it that has in it the elements of the utter annihilation of the infamous traffic? Are not license and local option laws forever doctoring symptoms, while no assault is made upon the disease? Not until the law seeks to annihilate the disease as the Fourteenth Amendment annihilated human slavery will the saloon curse die.

3. Local option is impossible; that is to say, it is impossible to apply the principle of local option fully to the drink problem. It is commonly supposed that the result of a local option election is final; that if the vote is dry, then no liquors can be sold in that territory. This is not the case, though it would be if the sale of liquors in that locality could be affected only by influences arising within that territory. But, alas! such is not the fact. A town can hold an election upon the subject of building a schoolhouse or of issuing bonds for some public work, and in such case the election would be purely local option, because no other town, county, State, nor even the Nation has any right to interfere. Not by any possible act could the local option be modified or destroyed by any larger political unit so long as that option was legal. But with

a vote on the sale of liquors resulting dry, immediately every surrounding town, the county, the State, and even the Nation become menacing influences to disturb and often to destroy the policy thus adopted. Such a vote may establish saloon option, but it is powerless to establish local option against all these harmful influences.

The menacing influences arising in the county are: The saloons in the surrounding wet territory; adjacent breweries and distilleries; multitudes of drinking men bent on the destruction of the no-license policy. The harmful influences arising from the State are: Liquor manufactories within the State; State and municipal licenses; intra-State shipment laws. The menacing influences that are National are: Interstate shipments; navigable waters, including rivers and coast line; the United States mails; sales of tax receipts to outlaws within the dry territory; forbidding internal revenue collectors from testifying in State courts against outlaws; distributing centers incident to interstate traffic, such as express offices, railroad depots, steamboat landings, etc. All of these and several more become the menacing causes of local failure. It is no fault of the local option law, but it is failure in spite of that law caused by outside assaults. As long

as this is the situation a vote upon the sale of liquors is in no such sense a local option as is a similar vote upon the issuing of bonds for a public building or other enterprise. It would therefore seem not too strong to say that pure local option upon the liquor question at the present time is well-nigh impossible.

Concrete examples of this can easily be furnished in abundance. We quote from an honorable citizen of Chicago these:

"On the northern boundary of Chicago is the city of Evanston. The liquor question as a local issue was 'settled' there years ago. But there is no law on the statute books of Illinois that prevents the shipment of liquor from Chicago to Evanston and delivery to consignee or consumer. But there is another phase of the subject. The seven odd thousand saloons in Chicago are turning out criminals, paupers, idiots, and dependents to an enormous extent. And while the seven million dollars' license fees paid by these saloons go into the treasury of Chicago, the care of these dependents and the punishment of these criminals must be paid out of the treasury of Cook County; and the citizens of Evanston must bear their just share of this expense. Evanston has settled the question as a 'local issue,' but she has not escaped

from the curse of the moral and financial results of the liquor traffic. It would seem, therefore, that the question might at least be as large as a county. Down in the interior of the State of Illinois are thirty odd counties that have driven the saloon from their borders and have 'settled' the question as a 'local issue.' But liquor is being poured into them from Chicago, Peoria, Springfield, and other points to such an extent that men are led to argue that the open saloon is preferable. And it is this way that brewers and distillers hope to break down the local prohibitory law and secure the return of the licensed saloon. The laws of the State afford those counties no protection against these outside liquor men."

Thus county option is a little better than town or city option; State-wide prohibition is better than county option; prohibition for the whole Nation is best of all; and that must ever be the goal of the great reform. Nothing short of that will ever bring refractory cities and rebellious States to the full enjoyment of this new emancipation.

4. Unfortunately local option laws do not enjoy the respect of all classes in the same degree that other laws do. This comes about by the fact that they make legal in one town what is illegal in another town. Or,

they make the same thing legal one year and illegal the next year in the same town. Such a course of government confuses the citizen and often breeds a spirit of contempt for the law itself. This is unfortunate. The option in one town, city, or county is held in contempt by the neighboring town, city, or county of a different option. One wet town makes the adjoining town wet, though voted dry. This often creates a feeling of disgust among excellent people. This in turn begets a spirit of indifference in those in dry territory toward their neighbors who are swamped with the saloon in wet territory. Many feel that the policy wastes time, labor, and money upon half measures. Certain it is that it calls for constant war; for, as one has put it, "A dry town is only a truce, with the liquor traffic at bay and under arms, and ready at any minute to renew the onslaught."

5. Local option sometimes circumscribes men's vision. The dust of a local campaign often blinds their eyes to a great Nation-wide reform. It finds them willing to spend their energies occasionally on one or a dozen local saloons, while they remain oblivious to a thousand distilleries, five thousand breweries, and a quarter of a million saloons, all running constantly throughout the Nation.

Thus men often think that a vote against the saloon in the spring absolves them from any responsibility of voting against two hundred and fifty thousand of them in the fall. It creates all kinds of fallacies to keep men satisfied and voting with organizations that are allied to the saloon interests. There is always danger that it will defeat itself and bring the policy into discredit by concentrating attention upon the local issue, to the neglect of the men who are elected to enforce the policy. Thus it is often left to the tender mercies of its enemies rather than that of its friends. This is sufficient always to finally defeat the policy.

6. The moral issue. Is it right to submit a moral wrong to a popular vote? Would we consent to leave the Ten Commandments to the fate of a popular election? If we accept the principle that it is right to vote the saloon out by a popular majority, are we not obliged to acquiesce in the moral wrong that it is equally right to vote it in by a popular majority? Does not such a course level and degrade the greatest moral issue of this century? Will it not do much to lockjaw every protesting sentiment against the moral wrong and crime of the saloon system?

Exactly that was the nerve of the moral issue between Stephen A. Douglas and

Abraham Lincoln. The immortal debate between those giants in 1858 was almost wholly upon that issue. Douglas would have the issue of slavery settled by local option. That is what his doctrine of "squatter sovereignty" meant—that the citizens of each new territory should decide by a popular majority whether slavery should exist there or not. Slavery was not a moral, but a political question, a question of expediency. This is a free country, and therefore the citizens themselves must settle all questions of that nature by a majority vote!

Abraham Lincoln took the ground that slavery was morally wrong, and that nothing this side of the divine throne could make it right. He contended that a moral question could never be rightfully submitted to a popular vote; that popular majorities could never settle a moral issue. Slavery was not a question of expediency—not a political question primarily, but a moral question, and there is but one way known to men to settle a moral wrong—ANNIHILATION!

Abraham Lincoln's moral grip of that question made him President of the United States and emancipator of a race. His conception of that issue lifted the Nation and mankind to a moral altitude which they had never before attained. If our cause is a

moral issue equally great, do we not belittle it when we put it on any plane below that? Shall we not solve the drink problem better when we cease to treat it as an evil that may be regulated, or an expediency that can be allowed to flourish if it has a popular majority in its favor, but as a crime against humanity and an insult to Almighty God that is entitled to only one consideration—ANNIHILATION?

CHAPTER VIII

DOCTRINE OF PROHIBITION

In 1846 a bill was introduced into the Legislature of the State of Maine by Neal Dow which proposed to prohibit the selling of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. That bill soon became a law—probably the first civil law of the kind in the world. Later the law was so amended as to forbid the manufacture of intoxicating liquors for a similar purpose. The law was soon after repealed, and still later it was re-enacted, and in 1851 it was quite well established, having been so amended and improved that its enforcement became practicable.

From that time to the present it has been the quite well settled policy of the State—a period of sixty years. While it has been fairly well enforced over most of the State, its enforcement has always been more or less resisted in the larger cities, where illicit selling has been carried on generally by the connivance of the police and the city officials. Nevertheless the success of the policy has been so pronounced and the benefits of it so

conspicuous that it has been a beacon light to the friends of sobriety throughout the world for half a century, and a corresponding rebuke to the disreputable crowd of drink-mongers who have ever sought to break it down.

A prohibition amendment was added to the constitution of the State in 1884, having been endorsed by an overwhelming popular majority. In the autumn of 1911 this provision was again submitted to a popular vote and barely escaped being repealed, a very small majority voting for its retention. The reasons for this change of sentiment concerning the prohibition policy are many. It must always be remembered that the unfriendly attitude of the politicians, the city governments, and the police, resulting in lax enforcement of the law, brought the law into disrepute and furnished a pretext for the clamor for its repeal. Also the entire liquor interests of the Nation conspired to accomplish its overthrow. They spent vast sums of money, and resorted to every possible misrepresentation of the facts, everywhere proclaiming that license was better, as it furnished a revenue to the cities and the State which prohibition deprived them of. And still again it must be remembered that the population of the State has undergone a

great change in recent years. The old New England stock is growing less, while the cities are being crowded with new arrivals from countries where there is little or no temperance sentiment; and the rural regions are being occupied by new classes of people, chiefly French Canadians and others who do not share the total abstinence principles of the original inhabitants of the State. For these and similar reasons the future of prohibition does not look so bright for Maine as it does for many of our other States.

Immediately following the example of Maine, and during the decade of the fifties, every Northern State except New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and California passed similar laws; so that upon the breaking out of the Civil War in the spring of 1861 there were fourteen States under prohibition statutes. Some of these statutes were annulled by the decision of the supreme courts, some were vetoed by governors, and some were repealed during the war; thus at the close of the Civil War in 1865 there were but three States that retained their prohibition laws—Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. The latter two have since gone back to the license policy. Other States have lately at different times adopted prohibition, either constitutional or statutory, or both, and there are at the pres-

ent time nine States and large portions of other States under prohibition law. More than half of the entire territory of the United States is now under that policy.

OBJECTIONS TO PROHIBITION.

When prohibition was proposed sixty years ago it was a new thing under the sun. There was very little sentiment then in its favor in the whole world. It had to encounter difficulties, objections, and bitter antagonism. It may be important just here to mention some of these objections and arguments, for most of the arguments in favor of the liquor traffic are presented in the form of objections to prohibition. Among them these:

1. "Prohibition is a sumptuary law." Sumptuary laws are those which propose to regulate the people's habits in food and dress, and the like. Prohibition is not a sumptuary law because it does not propose to regulate the habit of the citizens, nor to dictate to them what their personal conduct shall be touching food, dress, Church, employments, or pleasures. Prohibitionists have always been just as prompt to repel any invasion of personal rights from whatsoever source as are any people in the land. And they would be as quick to resent and resist

any law that sought to interfere in matters of this nature as any people in the world. Sumptuary laws savor of paternalism which is alien to American freedom. They are the tools of despots and an abomination to free and self-respecting people. Prohibition laws propose to forbid the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drink; but no prohibition law has ever been proposed by any one to forbid the drinking of intoxicating liquors. That territory must forever remain under the control of each man's moral freedom.

2. "Prohibition is a trespass upon personal liberty." "Personal liberty" is one of those catchy but meaningless phrases that have been picked up by the liquor crowd and pressed into service upon every possible occasion. But it has been overworked. There is no such a thing in the world. No man ever had personal liberty to do as he pleased but Adam; and he lost that the very day that God made Eve. Robinson Crusoe may be supposed to have enjoyed perfect personal liberty until his man Friday invaded his realm. And that was the end of his personal liberty. My personal liberty ends where your personal liberty begins. Personal liberty is the creed of ghouls and hyenas. It is the law of the jungle. It has no place in human society, civilized or uncivilized. It

is therefore no matter of surprise that the liquor fraternity patronize the term. When men cease to breathe the air of supreme selfishness, and begin to regard the sacred rights of others, they find no place in their vocabulary for "personal liberty."

Prohibition does not trespass upon the personal rights of any one. Its advocates believe in the largest possible freedom consistent with the rights of others; and this always and for all people. When they favor a law which forbids the making and selling of intoxicating drinks to demoralize the community and destroy men's souls, they know that they are assailing no man's personal liberty, but are promoting a policy that will vouchsafe to every man, woman, and child the largest possible sphere of human rights.

The men who prate about "personal liberty" are generally a class of selfish, often immoral citizens, who forever demand for themselves what they are unwilling to concede to those dependent upon them. They demand the "personal liberty" to make swine of themselves, while their children have the "personal liberty" to pick up coal on the railroads and carry it home in bags to keep them from freezing; their wives have the "personal liberty" to scrub their lives away

at the washtub to keep the family from starvation; they demand the "personal liberty" to filch the hard-earned dimes from their wives and go and spend it for grog; they claim the "personal liberty" to compel their family of helpless children to grow up in ignorance, breathe the atmosphere of crime, live in dirt, dress in rags, and eat salt horse and sour bread. These are the valiant knights of "personal liberty" who set themselves first, last, and always against prohibition or any other law that by wholesome restraint seeks the good of all.

We have said that there is no such thing in the world as "personal liberty." No man can place a powder-mill, slaughter-house, or soap-factory wherever he wants to, even upon his own land. No man can even wear his wife's clothes upon the streets. No man can build his house until the city has decided what materials he must not use. No man can build a sidewalk at any elevation which he may please, nor of material to gratify his own caprice. No man can leave his own house when quarantined for the protection of others. There are a thousand things which a man can not do, however much he may proclaim his right to "personal liberty." Civilization itself is founded upon the principle that "personal liberty" must

everywhere and always be relinquished for the public good.

This old howl about "sumptuary legislation" and "personal liberty" reminds us that snakes always travel in pairs. Whenever any proposal is made to protect human beings from the rapacity of the liquor traffic, or to try to lift lost men to a higher plain, from every snake-hole comes the infernal yell. It never occurs to these slaves of lust and drink that the loftiest liberty a man can have in this world is the right and obligation to defend his home and children against the murderous attack of these breeders of crime. "What a man does in his private parlor is no concern of the State, so long as no other individuals are affected thereby. We contend that women and children have a personal right to the pursuit of happiness, and that no one has the right to interfere by injecting a rendezvous of crime, lechery, and disorder into their midst. There is no more sacred right on earth than the personal right of a man to protect his offspring. The man who would set a trap for the sons and daughters of another, who would violate the peace and order of his community, who would make the streets unsafe for his children, who would depreciate the value of his property, and who would pollute his government, in-

vades the most sacred 'personal liberty' conceivable to the human mind. The liquor traffic is a remorseless invasion of human liberty in its most vital forms."

3. Objection was early made against prohibition that it is wrong in principle, and therefore unconstitutional. It was felt to be out of harmony with our genius of government and antagonistic to our spirit of civil liberty. The governor of Wisconsin in 1855 vetoed such a law on that ground. At that time we were not far enough away from the Revolution to forget that the contention of our fathers was that Parliament had no right to make laws governing the conduct of these colonies, especially laws touching what we should make, buy, sell, or use. Should we now, the sons of Revolutionary sires, hand over to our Legislatures the power to make similar laws to govern us, when they had settled that adversely once for all on the battlefields of the Revolution? Many publicists of that day thought that prohibition was clearly contrary to the fundamental principle of our Government and opposed to the issues of that great struggle for independence. So, until the matter could be adjudicated by a competent court of last resort, and the principle clearly defined and forever settled, there could be no real progress made in the

Nation-wide campaign for total prohibition.

That question has long since been adjudicated by our highest court, and the doctrine of prohibition as right in principle is now imbedded in our jurisprudence.

4. When prohibition was first proposed as a remedy for the drink-evil it encountered the ignorance, prejudice, and erroneous opinions of mankind. The opinion was well-nigh universal that alcoholic beverage was the gift of God; that it was necessary for food, for medicine, and for stimulant; that therefore it was as necessary for human welfare as any other blessing of God. There was no scientific temperance at that day. The effect of alcohol upon the human system had not been studied, and very little was known about it. Everywhere men believed that to prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages would rob mankind not only of their liberties, but of one of the chief necessaries of human life. A few people still hold these views, just as there are a few people who still believe that the earth is flat; but for the most part they have been largely given up, and that form of objection does not now exert the influence which it formerly did. We have sought to exhibit the

present status of this question in our chapter upon Scientific Temperance.

5. "Prohibition laws can not be enforced." This is the universal objection offered by the liquor traffic and by the very people who intend deliberately to violate those laws. The objection forever proclaims the criminality of the very men who make it. It is not the expression of a prophecy, but of a purpose!

As a matter of fact, prohibition laws are just as easy to enforce as are any other laws for the prevention of crime. They are difficult to enforce only because bad men defy them and violate them for selfish purposes. That is exactly why laws for the prevention of theft, arson, and murder are frequently violated. And there is no more reason why laws forbidding the making and selling of intoxicating drinks should not be enacted for the protection of society than that society should not legislate against any other crime. All such laws are for the protection of persons and property, and nothing so imperils persons and property as drink. Prohibition laws have an added function, and therefore a claim upon the good will of mankind over and above that of criminal laws, in that they are charged not only with the duty

of protecting persons and property, but also that of safeguarding the moral welfare of the community. Wherever prohibition has prevailed, the community not only becomes more sober, but all forms of immorality and crime diminish in proportion. This statement is too self-evident to require statistical support. No one who has regard for the truth is likely to call it in question. The oft-repeated saying that "prohibition don't prohibit" is just as true as that "regulation don't regulate!" Is it any discredit to the Decalogue that it has not prevented murder, nor stopped men from lying, nor stealing, nor swearing? Shall every law be at once repealed simply because bad men defy it? Shall all civil government be abandoned just because crimes against both persons and property are frequent? All such objections mean nothing at all, because no law, either human or divine, has any power to enforce itself. All laws must be enforced by an active agent behind them for that purpose; and the more human nature rebels against wholesome laws, the more energetic and efficient must be the enforcing agent. It is exactly as appropriate and just as truthful to say that the Seventh Commandment has not destroyed lust as to say that "prohibition don't prohibit!" In nearly all cases those

who affirm that are the ones who are guilty of the crime of violation. It is, however, cheerful to remember that multitudes of these men, while serving prison sentences for violating the prohibition laws, have had both motive and opportunity for revising their opinions!

6. "The liquor traffic is a source of revenue to the community, therefore it ought to be permitted to remain." This is the last leg the traffic has to stand on. It is about the only plea it dare now make for itself. It has been so often and so overwhelmingly convicted of crime, proven to be the cause of so much pauperism, disease, insanity, graft, civic wickedness, and a hundred other things of similar import that it has not the nerve any more to hold up its head and plead for its life upon any other ground than that it is a source of financial profit to the municipality that licenses it. And if this were true it would be but a poor, groveling, miserly plea of the money-grubber, and would have no influence except with those who estimate a few paltry dollars above the value of immortal souls. But it has already been shown that this claim of financial benefit is a falsehood, and the reasons need not be repeated here.

There is not one honest plea that the

liquor traffic can possibly make for its life. Its arguments are fallacious. Its statements are falsehoods. Its exhibits are human wrecks. Its goal is the social dump. Its future is hell. Its special pleas are frantic appeals made to and influence those only who have no ability to detect the Satanic motive that prompts them. A cause so weak, so vicious, so unjust would long since have perished, but for the money greed of its promoters, the sin-blinded nature of its victims, and the unscrupulous officials that fatten upon its graft and political favors.

THE RATIONALE OF PROHIBITION.

1. It is the duty of the State to prevent crime. Civil government came into existence for that purpose. If there were no crime in the world, it is doubtful whether civil governments would ever have come into existence. It seems like needless repetition to declare that the liquor traffic is everywhere a breeder of immorality and crime. There is no vice in human society nor any crime known to man that this business does not directly or indirectly foster. It stands convicted before the civilized world as the arch-breeder of iniquity. That is why civil governments should prohibit it and use all the police power of the State for its annihilation.

When the public conscience becomes as enlightened upon that point as it is upon the subject of treason or murder, the civil governments of the world will be employed in the destruction of the traffic as surely as they are now employed to annihilate other forms of crime.

2. No State has the right to permit one citizen to tempt another. Such a right does not inhere either in the citizen or the State. Whenever the State permits the liquor traffic to exist under its protection—by what legal device soever—the State consents that one citizen shall employ the means of temptation upon his weak, ignorant, and often unsuspecting fellow-citizen. The State throws its protecting arms around the saloon, which has all the allurements to attract, deceive, and decoy men. It is a social resort. Society makes no demand, and decency imposes almost no restraint. Its liquors inflame the appetite. Its cheer makes men forget their troubles for the time. Its social warmth makes them forget their homes. They quickly become oblivious to the highest obligations of men. There is a moral slump. The saloon flourished, but the home is wrecked. In an atmosphere like this men's moral and spiritual natures are enfeebled and their animal passions are enflamed.

And thus it comes to pass that the institution ministers to one purpose only—to demoralize and ruin men. In that fashion the State allows, yea, even extends its protecting arms around one class of citizens, while they rob, weaken, demoralize, and ruin their fellow-citizens. That is legalized temptation. It is a Niagara of human wreckage wrought by the consent, and under the protecting power of the State. No State, nor all the citizens in the State, can ever have the right to permit one citizen to tempt another! No authority on earth nor in heaven can confer that right. When a State issues a saloon license it may disclaim any intention of granting such right; but such a disclaimer is weak and silly in the face of the fact that there is probably not one saloon on earth that is not a perpetual source of temptation to men.

3. It is the duty of the State to afford protection to persons and property. This is the first and highest obligation of the State. It is that for which the State is organized. It is the foundation stone of civil government. Why do we need protection? Because of that moral hurt which has poisoned the fountain of human life and love and brotherhood. When God sent you and me out upon the perilous pilgrimage of life, He endowed

us with certain physical, mental, and moral faculties which are our natural protectors: eyes to see, ears to hear, hands to labor, instincts to guide, normal appetites to select nourishment for the body; intellect to think, reason to direct, judgment to decide, self-respect, love of friends, and desire for the good opinion of mankind; conscience, the moral sense, fear of God, hope of heaven, and the certainty of moral obligations, and eternal rewards and retributions. These are our natural protectors, our heaven-endowed inheritance.

But in human society that has been demoralized by sin, these natural protectors are not enough. We must augment and supplement them. So mankind, feeling the need of something more, have organized the State, which is but the banding together of the people of the community to protect the people of that community against the injustice, ferocity, and rapacity of their fellow-men! The State therefore exists for and assumes the responsibility of the protection of each individual in the State. It agrees to afford protection to one and all—the great against the small, the weak against the strong, the simple against the shark, the lamb against the wolf, the babe against the brute.

Now when the State licenses the drink

traffic by any species of Satanic device whatsoever, or even allows it anywhere to exist, the State reverses its province and protects the strong against the weak. It throws its protecting arm around the saloon-keeper while he robs and ruins and damns his fellow-man. Instead of destroying those foul dens and decoy traps for men, it leaves the weak, defenseless, ignorant, and thoughtless citizen to the remorseless ravages of those who by their crimes against humanity have forfeited their rights to be protected. The license system puts the State in the attitude of breaking down the supplemental wall which it had built around the weak and defenseless citizen, and licensing a gang of men, often immoral and brutal, to attack and rob the feeble or unsuspecting citizen of the *very things* God gave him for his natural protectors! Thus the State not only withdraws the supplemental and artificial protection for which it was established, but it authorizes its agents to wreck and destroy those natural defenses which are the inheritance of every child of Adam. That is the license system the world over, and no sophistry can ever rob the Satanic thing of its true character!

Let us strive to represent this thought in concrete form. Suppose that by some psy-

chological power you could do a similar thing; that with a few passes of your hand over the head of a young man, and the utterance of the magic words "Presto! Change!" you could make exactly such changes in his nature in five minutes as the saloon will make in five months or five years; and you begin, "Presto! Change!" His natural appetite for wholesome food and drink is suddenly changed for a burning thirst for the consuming poison; his entire system is shot through with murderous germs of disease; his eyes are bloodshot; his brain is scorched; his blood is poisoned; his stomach is ulcerated; his heart is enfeebled; his liver is rotted; his whole system is deranged from head to foot. "Presto! Change!" His mental faculties are stupefied; his love for property, industry, and economy, all personal ambitions, and all self-respect pass into total eclipse; his love of friends and all desire for the respect and good opinion of mankind go down in the total wreck of a soul. "Presto! Change!" His moral nature is obliterated; conscience seared, will paralyzed, heart demonized, reason dethroned; moral responsibility, fear of God, hope of heaven gone, and gone forever! There he stands—debauched, demoralized, dehumanized, the fires of hell burning on the tongue and in the throat, and

the flames of the second death making lurid the lips and cheeks which but five minutes ago were fair—a demonized, infuriated maniac, or a driveling idiot!

Do that, O Magician, upon any young man in the civilized world, and your life would pay the forfeit in five seconds! Yet our great, free, and enlightened Nation licenses two hundred and fifty thousand men to do that work of hell upon all the men and boys of the country, and calls itself Christian!

SUCCESS OF THE PROHIBITION POLICY.

It would be an easy matter here to adduce statistics, personal testimonies, newspaper reports, and a hundred other direct proofs of the success of prohibition in those towns and cities where it has been attempted. But all such evidence gets enfeebled by age so quickly that it seems much better for those who are desirous of knowing the exact facts, who desire fresh testimony at first hand, to get into communication with responsible persons living in dry territory. The States which have State-wide prohibition statutes—Maine, Kansas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi—can be appealed to as examples of its good effects. Many of the leading cities within these States, and many also in

dry territory not included in these States, are now affording overwhelming evidence of the value of prohibition to the people and of the moral and civic life of the community.

It would be claiming too much, however, to say that prohibition has been a success wherever nominally tried. For, as a matter of fact, it has never been fully nor fairly tried anywhere. It has never had a fair chance to demonstrate its advantages to mankind. Its enforcement has generally, nearly always, been in the hands of its enemies or those who were utterly indifferent to its success. Policemen have generally protected the men who violate the law, for the money that is paid them for such protection. Public officials have generally winked at these violations, for the political favors which the traffic is able to bestow. The interstate commerce law has never yet forbidden the shipment of liquors into dry territory. And the United States Government has continued to grant excise permits to persons in dry territory, and has uniformly refused to allow these permits to be made *prima facie* evidence that the holder of them was engaged in selling liquors, and therefore violating the prohibition laws.

Under these unfriendly conditions it has

been next to impossible to secure for a prohibition law as fair a chance for its life as has generally been accorded to all other statutes. In spite of all this, however, the law has shown itself to be the only final solution of the drink-curse. Wherever it has been fairly well enforced it has wrought salutary changes in the physical and moral condition of those over whom it has exerted its beneficent influence. It is steadily progressing. Every year a larger territory comes under its sway. Every year more and more cities are testing the benefit of its provisions; but the kaleidoscopic shifting of the areas under this policy make it difficult to record permanent progress or to cite towns or cities as changeless monuments of this method of dealing with the liquor traffic. But enough has already been achieved to justify us in saying, Once give the prohibition law a fair chance, and the unequivocal testimony will be, "Prohibition does prohibit!"

THE PROHIBITION PRINCIPLE IN COURT.

Prohibition as a civil law is a recent visitor, a newcomer as it were, and has had to establish its claim to a legitimate place in American jurisprudence. It was pronounced unconstitutional, an outlaw, a vicious principle, alien, and un-American. All that it has

had to live down. Not until it had pleaded its cause in our courts of last resort was it definitely and authoritatively known whether the principle of prohibition was intrinsically right or wrong. Several years passed before it could get a chance to make its appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. But it "had its day in court" at last.

The Supreme Court of the United States in Crowley *vs.* Christenson, 137 U. S., 86, said:

"By the general concurrence of opinion of every civilized and Christian community, there are few sources of crime and misery to society equal to the dram shop, where intoxicating liquors, in small quantities, to be drunk at the time, are sold indiscriminately to all parties applying. The statistics of every State show a greater amount of crime and misery attributable to the use of ardent spirits than to any other source.

"The police power of the State is fully competent to regulate the business, to mitigate its evils, or to suppress it entirely. There is no inherent right in a citizen to sell intoxicating liquors by retail. It is not the privilege of a citizen of the State or a citizen of the United States. As it is a business attended with danger to the community, it may be entirely prohibited, or be permitted

under such conditions as will limit to the utmost its evils."

In Vol. 101, p. 814, U. S., the same court says:

"No Legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals. The people themselves can not do it, much less their servants. Government is organized with a view to their preservation, and can not divest itself of the power to provide for them."

The Supreme Court of the United States has no less than twelve times reiterated the same doctrine; namely, that there is no inherent right in a citizen to sell intoxicating liquors. The cases in which this same court has made these and similar declarations are too numerous to mention here. So thoroughly is this doctrine imbedded in our jurisprudence that nearly every supreme court of the several States has delivered similar judgments, more than twenty-five in all; and no supreme court of any State has held an adverse opinion. The final adjudication and authoritative settlement of this question is of incalculable advantage to the temperance cause. If our courts had held otherwise, the only temperance reform possible would have been confined to total abstinence and the moral phases of the subject.

Robert H. Patton, an attorney of Spring-

field, Ill., has this to say: "The question of the right of prohibition is absolutely settled for all time, so far as it pertains to the legal or constitutional right. For over half a century the highest court in the land has held tenaciously to the doctrine that the people have a right to absolutely prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. The liquor traffic has employed the ablest legal talent and tried in every conceivable way to undermine the solid foundation upon which prohibition rests, but it remains intact. They have had their day in court, and stand defeated, but still they fill the land with the clamor of the untenable positions the courts have so completely and unanimously overruled.

"We have with us upon all the vital questions at issue the decisions of every State court of last resort where the issue has been raised as well as that of the United States Supreme Court. The importance of this fact can not be overestimated. I believe there has never been a time in the last half century when the traffic would not have gladly given up one-half of all its accumulated wealth to have reversed these decisions. Unable to do this, their effort seems now directed to get the people to overrule these decisions and declare these courts to be wrong in their con-

clusions. But we have no fear that while reason and honesty sit upon the bench, or while those principles control the American people, there will ever be such a reversal."

The soundness of these great decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, as well as their immense influence upon the thought of the Nation, may be gathered from the deliverances of the supreme courts of the several States. We subjoin a few of these deliverances to show how well settled in American jurisprudence is the doctrine that prohibition is a correct principle; that prohibition is to-day the common law of this country; that no man can have the right—not even the legal privilege—of selling intoxicating liquors without a special license or permit to do that thing without which his act would be illegal.

"The privilege of keeping a saloon is a derivative right springing alone from the provisions of the license statute."—*Supreme Court of Indiana.*

"The licensed saloon-keeper does not sell liquor by reason of an inalienable right, inherent in citizenship, but because the government has delegated to him the exercise of such rights."—*Supreme Court of South Carolina.*

"The result of the definitions which have

been given of a license, as implied in its etymology, is in conformity with the sense in which the word is ordinarily used, and may be regarded as strictly accurate in all respects. That is permitted that can not be done without permission; and to say that a person is permitted—licensed—to do what he may lawfully do without permission, is a misuse of words."—*Supreme Court of Ohio.*

"We say that the prohibition of the traffic is absolute, except upon certain specified conditions, and one of these conditions is the provision for its legalization by the procurement of a license."—*Supreme Court of Nebraska.*

"The popular understanding of the word 'license' undoubtedly is a permission to do something which, without the license, would not be allowable. This we may suppose is the sense in which it was made use of in the Constitution. This is also the legal meaning."—*Supreme Court of Michigan.*

This being now the common law of this country—that no person has the inherent right to sell intoxicating liquor, and that the State may at any time prohibit the sale—the prohibition law has this as its special function: That the people shall withdraw from the Legislature the authority to make any law to license or permit the traffic; and that

no officer of the Government shall be authorized to issue such a license or permit. That is exactly what we now mean by prohibition. To have made all this progress in the great reform in a single generation is one of the astounding achievements of our time.

COMPENSATION; INDEMNITY.

Closely associated with the question of the legal rightness of prohibition was the question of indemnity. If the State forbids the manufacture and traffic in intoxicating liquors, should not the State compensate those who have been deprived of their property, or whose property has been depreciated or rendered valueless by the enactment of the prohibitory law? This question early and frequently arose. It is a well-recognized principle of law that private property can not be taken for public uses without paying the owner for it. Wherever prohibition prevailed, the property which had been employed in the liquor traffic would be rendered valueless for that purpose, and of little value for other purposes. And that was regarded as being tantamount to a confiscation of the property to the State. It was therefore urged that in all such cases a compensation should be paid to the owners.

That argument was put forth with won-

derful effect by Mr. Duffield, an eminent lawyer of Michigan, during the prohibition amendment campaign in that State in the spring of 1887, and it was probably the chief factor in defeating the amendment. Many voters believed it to be sound law, though the question had never been adjudicated by the higher courts, though it was then pending in the highest court in the land; and in the autumn of that year the Supreme Court of the United States passed upon the claims of the brewers of Kansas and utterly annihilated the doctrine of compensation as applied to the liquor traffic. The court disclaimed any destruction of the brewers' property, or any intention of confiscating it on the part of the State; but held that such property could not be used for the purpose of manufacturing intoxicating liquors in the State of Kansas.

This decision is of such deep and far-reaching significance that it seems appropriate that we put the kernel of it here before our readers:

"The power which the States unquestionably have of prohibiting such use by individuals of their property as will be prejudicial to the health, the morals, or the safety of the public, is not, and consistently with the existence and safety of organized society

can not be, burdened with the condition that the State must compensate such individual owners for pecuniary losses they sustain by reason of their not being permitted, by a noxious use of their property, to inflict injury upon the community. It is true that when the defendants in these cases purchased or erected their breweries, the laws of the State did not forbid the manufacture of intoxicating liquors. But the State did not thereby give assurance, or come under any obligation, that its legislation upon that subject would remain unchanged." *Mugler vs. State of Kansas, and Ziebold and Hegelin vs. State of Kansas, U. S. Supreme Court, Vol. 123, p. 623.*

Thus the doctrine of indemnity or compensation is forever settled so far as it applies to property engaged in the liquor business. This principle, once established, is of incalculable value to the cause of prohibition, and forever silences the ranting clamor of those who in every no-license campaign were continually bringing forward that bogy to frighten voters. It is one more club taken out of the hands of unscrupulous demagogues, and has made it infinitely more easy to get an unprejudiced and disinterested hearing for the cause of prohibition itself. If the court had held as the liquor interests

desired, and extended the doctrine of compensation to the property of liquor dealers and manufacturers, it would have been next to impossible to have voted the saloon out of any locality or to have secured prohibition at all. It is likely that the liquor interests of this country would gladly give millions of dollars to have that doctrine reversed. With the enthronement of that principle in our jurisprudence one more hope of their final triumph has gone, and gone forever!

IF PROHIBITION IS RIGHT, IS LICENSE WRONG?

Our highest court having held that the doctrine of prohibition is sound in principle, the question at once arose, Can license also be sound in principle? Our court had many times over decided that the State *may* withhold license, but it had never decided that the State *must* withhold license. Many efforts were made in different States to get that question before our courts. The question of prohibition had been adjudicated and the principle settled, why not now have the question of license also passed upon by the court of last resort? Efforts to get this question in litigation were everywhere baffled until the year 1907, when a case was presented to Judge Samuel R. Artman's

circuit court in the State of Indiana. The question before that court amounted to this: Is there any law, written or unwritten, common law or constitution, in the State of Indiana under which a saloon license can be granted?

Since Judge Artman's decision is regarded as one of the ablest and most important decisions ever rendered touching the legal status of the liquor traffic, we will quote from that great decision enough to place the exact opinion of the court before the reader:

"It is contended by counsel for the applicant that the right of the Legislature to authorize the granting of a saloon license is absolute and unqualified under the police power of the State.

"In other words, he contends that this alleged right is to be measured by the fundamental principle of government, technically called the police power.

DEFINITION OF POLICE POWER.

"It is, then, proper, in order that we may be fully understood in this discussion, to ascertain as nearly as possible what is meant by the police power of the State. This principle of government or power is, after all, not very easily defined. It may be said to be the power to enforce the right and pro-

hibit the wrong. It is the power to enforce the chief end of organized government, which is the preservation and development of the good order, the peace, safety, health, morals, and welfare of the people.

"In the case of the State vs. Corhardt, 145 Ind., 451, the court said:

'The police power of a State is recognized by the courts to be one of wide sweep. It is exercised by the State in order to promote the health, safety, comfort, morals, and welfare of the public. The right to exercise this power is said to be inherent in the people in every free government. It is not a grant, derived from or under any written constitution.'

SELF-PROTECTION CHIEF END OF GOVERNMENT.

"Accepting this declaration as correct, which we must, the police power is, then, the inherent right in the people of every free government to promote the health, safety, comfort, morals, and welfare of the people. The right being inherent, it does not depend upon the language of the written constitution. Self-protection is the chief end of organized government, and there is inherent in every free government, without regard to the language of the written constitution, the power to promote the health, safety, comfort,

morals, and welfare of the people, and, this being true, just ordinary common sense suggests the corollary proposition, that there is inherent in every free government, without regard to the language of the written constitution, a prohibition against doing anything that naturally and necessarily endangers the health, safety, comfort, morals, and welfare of the people."

This is the first decision of the kind that has been delivered by a court. It is a great paper and has produced a profound impression upon the legal mind of the Nation. Whether it will be affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States remains to be seen. It is at present hung up, because the liquor people, who only have the right to appeal, dare not risk it, which is the very highest compliment to the soundness of its reasoning. If this decision should be affirmed by our highest court there would not be left one vestige of legal support for the liquor traffic. It is no wonder, therefore, that they are averse to carrying it any further. That doctrine is the grave of Gambrinus.

Exactly two months from the date of this decision came another decision from another circuit court of Indiana, presided over by Judge Christian. His decision pronouncing

saloon licenses illegal in Indiana was based upon the fact that the saloon is a nuisance *per se,* having all the ear-marks and essential characteristics of a nuisance, which at common law is anything that produces physical, mental, and moral harm to human beings. The good sense of this decision is scarcely less patent than that in the other. If there is anything in this world that is self-evident, it is that the saloon works physical, mental, and moral harm to mankind. If these are the characteristics of a nuisance, then the saloon belongs in that class.

The State of Kansas has by statute declared saloons a nuisance, and according to the decisions of her courts property that is found employed in the manufacture and sale of liquors is liable to be confiscated to the State. That looks as if the question was no longer academic in that progressive Commonwealth. These statutes and decrees are in the right direction.

Perhaps in France, England, and Germany, where breweries, distilleries, and drinking institutions have been imbedded in social and civil fabric for many centuries, it would be a little harder or more difficult to "jar them loose," but in this country the entire business rests upon a very precarious foundation, and seems likely to be finally de-

stroyed. If no citizen has the inherent right to sell intoxicating drink; if any State can at any time prohibit the manufacture and sale thereof; if no man can claim compensation for the loss of property put out of business by prohibition; if the business is a nuisance *per se*, an enemy to, and contrary to the purposes of civil government, then its future is as hopeless as its character is immoral. A business that stands on as precarious a foundation as that may as well plan to move out or dig a cyclone cave, for a storm is coming!

These are magnificent achievements of the great reform. The time during which it has been making this history is easily spanned by a human life, yet how astounding they are! The courts have defined and defended our principles, and they have registered the progress which we have made. But let no one think that this battle is to be left to the courts. It is not their warfare, but ours. Therefore, while we fully appreciate the great service which the courts have rendered and are still rendering, let us never lose sight of the central fact that the great reform is the concern of the people. They are the real soldiers in this campaign. The intelligence, zeal, and self-sacrifice of the

people who love their fellow-men have brought the reform to its present stage; and they—not the courts, nor the Legislature—the people themselves, must fight it through to the triumphant end. With God's help they will surely win!

CHAPTER IX

POLITICAL ACTION

When the great wave for statutory prohibition swept over the country during the decade of the fifties, the liquor traffic found itself unorganized and powerless to resist the progress of the temperance cause. It was demoralized, discredited, dethroned, and outlawed. A few feeble attempts were made in the New England and some of the Middle States to establish organizations and to reenthrone the outlawed business. But little in that direction was accomplished until the outbreak of the Civil War. This event revived its hopes. It immediately recognized the war as its opportunity. The voting patriots would leave their homes for the seat of war; the saloon-keepers would stay at home and do the voting; their pals would get into the public offices; the Government would be in desperate need of money, of votes, as well as of soldiers. Gambrinus saw his day approaching. He was not disappointed; for, sure enough, it came in the autumn of 1862.

The war had been in progress for a year

and a half. The Union armies had suffered many defeats. Little progress had been made toward the restoration of the Union. There were sorrow and mourning and discouragement in nearly every home of the North. The hope of the Union cause was growing feeble. The autumn elections came on. It was a dark day for the Republic. The voters of Illinois, the home of Lincoln, practically repudiated his administration and elected a Legislature that was unfriendly to the Union cause. Two years before, when Abraham Lincoln was elected President, the Thirty-seventh Congress was chosen, which resulted, after the Southern members had withdrawn, in leaving forty-two members in the House of Representatives who were opposed to the Lincoln administration. Now, in the autumn of 1862, the Thirty-eighth Congress was elected, and it resulted in adding thirty-eight to the forty-two, making eighty!—a terrible blow to the Union cause. Several of the States showed serious signs of backing down and of giving up the contest. Ohio and Indiana wavered and fell back. New York elected Horatio Seymour governor upon a platform that vigorously opposed the prosecution of the war for the Union. These were the darkest days this country had seen since Washington's army

was at Valley Forge. All this culminated in the autumn elections, November 5, 1862. Gambrinus's hour had come. This was his time to strike! Exactly one week later—November 12, 1862—the first National organization of friends of the liquor traffic was made in the city of New York. Out of this grew "The Brewers' Congress" and "The National Liquor Dealers' Association."

The saloon power of America was now organized and ready for business. It entered politics at once. A little added to or subtracted from the Union cause would settle it whether this Nation should live or die. The liquor interests saw at once that they were able to furnish that little, that small balance of power that would help to save or to destroy the Nation. They put themselves upon the market. They would support the Union cause, chiefly with votes, of course, provided those prohibition statutes should be repealed. They demanded that nothing should be done by the National Government to interfere with the liquor trade. And they still further seem to demand that the internal revenue tax upon liquors shall remain a perpetual bribe paid to chloroform the Nation's conscience. The liquor power seems to have aimed at nothing less than to exalt Gambrinus as the real ruler of Amer-

ica; to silence the voice of Presidents; to lockjaw politicians and intimidate statesmen; to subsidize Legislatures and to control Congress; to dominate courts; to galvanize the press and hush the voice of the pulpit; to write all party platforms, dictate all nominations, and determine all elections. Nothing less than this has been its program now for half a century.

No one can allege that this program has not been carried out. It has controlled practically every election for fifty years. It demanded and secured the repeal of eleven prohibition statutes within two and a half years. It has saddled the infamous internal revenue system upon the Nation. It has made it impossible for Congress to amend the interstate commerce law so as to protect dry territory. It so influences the administration of the different departments of the Government that the liquor interests are everywhere protected. In a thousand ways its baleful influence is felt in every nook and corner of our political life and of our civic organizations.

HOW REIGNS GAMBRINUS?

How has all this been accomplished? How does the liquor traffic reign? How has it dominated our National life for half a cen-

tury? It is not by virtue of superior numbers—for it is an insignificant minority of the people of this country; not by superior intelligence—for its devotees are generally low-browed, illiterate, coarse, and sensual; not by superior morals—for it is almost universally immoral, generally vicious, and often criminal, the most prolific breeder of vice and crime on earth to-day. Yet it reigns —how? The majority of the people of America are intelligent and virtuous; yet are they politically dominated by a horde that is neither. A free republic should be governed by a majority of its citizens; this free Republic has been and still is dominated by a minority. An intelligent, moral, and law-abiding people should enthrone intelligence, morality, and law; but ignorance, vice, and lawlessness have been sitting in the seats of power in this country for fifty years, bent upon one supreme purpose—the aggrandizement of the liquor traffic. Again we ask, How has all this been accomplished?

It has been brought about by a very simple but a very effective method. The liquor traffic and all its friends have always been a unit in politics—a non-partisan unit—an invisible unit—a unit that has always subordinated all other questions to this one, the exaltation of the saloon and the glorification

of the liquor power. For this supreme object there is no interest that they will not instantly sacrifice, no political party that they will not promptly desert, no political candidate that they will not immediately crush, no country that they will hesitate to destroy, no heaven that they will not instantly forfeit, no Christ that they will not hasten to crucify, nor any God that they will not blasphemously dethrone. That is the secret and source of its power—*blood-red earnestness!* Whenever any united, invisible, non-partisan, and dead-in-earnest balance of power, however much in the minority, as is the liquor traffic in America to-day, sets out to control American politics, the majority of people, boasting of their freedom while enslaved as the American people are to their political parties, become an easy target, are quickly captured and led whither they will. No majority, however united in greatness, virtue, and intelligence, but divided politically, but becomes the easy prey of a united, aggressive, unscrupulous, and non-partisan minority. This exactly explains our loss and their gain, our poverty and their power.

The devotees of Gambrinus ostensibly belong to the dominant political parties, but this is only to blind men's eyes. They do not belong to any political party, but are in fact

the most non-partisan political combination in this country, unless it be the Mormons. They have located upon the center of the political teeter-board, and there they stay, ready at a minute's notice to throw their power both for nominations and elections, either to the right or the left to help their friends and kill their enemies. It would be easy to show a hundred instances where the liquor power had thrown its influence both ways at once and elected some of the candidates in each of the parties, as it did in 1888 in New York, where it made itself "solid" with both political parties by carrying the State of New York for the Republican National ticket and the Democratic State candidates, thus electing Harrison for President and Hill for governor.

The saloon power is never in doubt. It wastes no energy upon ideals and theories. It always knows where its chief interests are, exactly how to vote, and where its votes will count the most for the saloon. No other questions are worth considering. It never scatters, never throws its vote away. This makes its will supreme in American politics. When it puts a man in office, he is no longer a free man; he must support the saloon cause in legislative hall, in court, in executive chair, or it will proceed at once to dig his political

grave. It never forgives and never forgets. After fifty years of its oppression there is not one conspicuous example of a man in public life who antagonized the saloon interests but who has been buried by that Satanic power. No man has ever yet been strong enough successfully to defy its will. Its wrecks have strewn our political highways for half a century. Our country faces this issue at last: This Nation will have to destroy the saloon, or the saloon will destroy it. No longer is it a question for the moralist and the Christian alone, but for the patriot also.

OTHER INSTANCES OF THE NON-PARTISAN METHOD.

Slavery dominated this country from the Constitution to Emancipation—seventy-four years. It was always non-partisan. It had a controlling influence in both the Whig and the Democratic parties—the chief parties for most of that period—frequently deserting one and then the other in a body, and throwing its vote either to the right or the left, in order to elect pro-slavery candidates. Thus Jackson, Van Buren, Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan were pro-slavery Democrats; Harrison, Tyler, Taylor, and Fillmore were pro-slavery Whigs. No matter how strong the

anti-slavery sentiment was, no one could be elected President who opposed that institution, because the pro-slavery elements were always sufficiently non-partisan to support or to defeat any candidate, no matter what political party he belonged to. By this method slavery kept itself in power. By this method it came to be feared and was regarded with a feeling of terror. Yet it must be doubted if there was ever a time during the last forty years of its existence when a majority of the American people favored it. In spite of being in the minority, by these non-partisan methods it dominated America. If it had concentrated and confined its efforts to one political party, its political power would have soon perished. By making its power felt in both parties its life was prolonged. Thus a minority can always dominate our politics, provided that it be united, that it be non-partisan, that the majority shall be partisan and split up into more than one political organization. Once furnish these conditions, and the political power passes into the hands of the minority.

By a similar political method the Mormons dominate Utah and some other Western States to-day. Many years ago this people settled in Utah. Their ecclesiastical organization is an absolute union of Church

and State. When the Gentiles were few, everything was Mormon. Mormons were elected to all positions, and there was little or no opposition. But in the process of time the Gentiles became quite numerous. They came as Democrats and Republicans, and established their political organizations. Thereafter in all elections there were three political parties — Democratic, Republican, and Morman. But in 1882 the Gentiles concluded that if they were consolidated into one political organization they could outvote the Mormons. Accordingly they gave up for a time their National party organizations and united to form a new party which they called the American party. They at once carried the elections in Salt Lake City, in Ogden, and in Park City. The next year the Gentiles carried the State and elected a majority of the Legislature by the same method. But in 1884 the Mormons woke up. They discovered that whenever they voted as a unit against the Gentiles as a unit, they were outnumbered. Therefore, under the leadership and advice of George Q. Cannon—an astute politician—they resolved to disband their political organization and leave every Mormon free to vote with any political party which he chose. The Gentiles fell into the trap. Believing that the Mormons had dis-

banded their political organization in good faith, and that therefore there was no longer any necessity for keeping up the American party, they accordingly disbanded that organization and revived their National parties—Republican and Democratic. The Mormons ceasing to be a visible, instantly became an invisible political unit—but just as much a unit as they had ever been. Instead of being on one corner of a political triangle, they moved as a unit onto the center of the new alignment, which was a political teeterboard. There they perched, ready to throw their votes right or left to elect their friends or defeat their enemies. The autumnal election of 1884 demonstrated the wisdom of their plan, for no man was elected to any office who was not either a Mormon or a pronounced friend of the Mormon Church. The Mormons were in the saddle again. They rose to power and have held control of both political parties in that and adjoining States ever since. Whenever the Gentiles have desired to elect city officers or local school boards favorable to their sentiments, they have had to revive the American party to do it. As long as they managed their campaigns under the National political organizations, the Mormons remained in control.

Thus by this non-partisan method, this

balance-of-power method, this invisible-political-unit-on-the-center-of-teeter-board method, the pro-slavery power controlled America for more than fifty years; by that method the saloon power has dominated our politics for half a century; and the Mormons by the same method have controlled Utah and some other of the Western States for twenty-eight years.

So long as the anti-slavery men were divided between two political parties they were never able to concentrate their political strength against that institution. So long as the Gentiles in Utah are divided between two political organizations they can never be thrown as a solid mass against the Mormons. So long as the anti-saloon men continue to remain separated among several political parties they are never able to unite their voting power against the institution whose overthrow they profess to seek. And it is by grace of this political folly that the saloon power remains upon the throne.

CAN WE BEAT THE SALOON BY ITS OWN METHOD?

Many excellent people think we can. They believe that there are many more people in this country who desire the overthrow of the liquor traffic than there are who desire its protection. They see no reason why these anti-saloon people can not be concen-

trated into one solid mass and located upon the center of the political teeter-board and made to throw their united strength either to the right or to the left at a moment's notice for the defeat of saloon candidates. Theoretically that would seem an easy thing to do. Theoretically it is easy to establish telegraphic communication with Mars. The wires are laid in the infinite ocean of ether that extends everywhere; the agent is supplied in the electrical energy which the sun provides for the entire solar system. We send out our electric signals over the sea and around the earth, and outward to the stars. It is, theoretically, easy enough to send messages to Mars. Practically it may be impossible to get return signals. So there are many things which are theoretically easy that are in practice impossible. In theory it would certainly seem an easy thing to unite all good men against an institution so deserving of destruction as the saloon. It is being done repeatedly in local no-license campaigns. One is curious to know why it can not be done everywhere in all elections, in all State-wide and Nation-wide campaigns against the liquor traffic.

We are not prepared to say that the liquor traffic can not be overthrown by its own method. We would not dare to venture

a prophecy that it will not be done. We have long and devoutly wished that it might be done, and done in that way. Nevertheless we are obliged to admit that there are some very stubborn facts and conditions that stand in the way of this proposition and dispute its progress. We feel that it is appropriate here to consider these facts and conditions candidly. Among them we recognize—

1. *An Historical Fact.* Not the slightest headway was ever made against the political power of slavery by the non-partisan method. When that power was finally overthrown it was by a political party that was founded for that purpose and which rallied around that standard. The foundation of the Republican party was laid practically in the Liberty and Free Soil parties which preceded it. While the Republican party never adopted an anti-slavery platform, nor ever pledged itself to the destruction of slavery, only against the further extension of it, yet it is also true that when Abraham Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation the Republican party immediately made that proclamation its platform in fact, if not in form, and fought the issue out to a finish on that great doctrine. Emancipation could never have become an accomplished fact had there not been a political party in power and an army in

the field committed to that principle. History has therefore no clearer testimony than this: The non-partisan slave power was not overthrown by a non-partisan anti-slave power. The non-partisan method seemed to answer well for the defense of the citadel; it was utterly inadequate to rally an army for its assault.

Neither have the Gentiles ever made any headway against the Mormons politically by adopting their own method. The Gentiles were obliged to abandon all existing political organizations and concentrate into one other and new organization in order to defeat them. Whenever they were willing to do that they have triumphed over the Mormons. Whenever they have been unwilling to do that the Mormons have triumphed over them. These are facts of history which no one can gainsay. And they go far toward creating the presumption that our final triumph over the rum power will have to come at last by a similar method. There is not much hope of any method which leaves the temperance men divided politically and at the mercy of a united and aggressive rum power. Such have they been for half a century. One at a time Napoleon conquered every army of Europe. When they united, they conquered him. The rum power's "Waterloo" awaits

a similar union of all the anti-saloon forces. Without some permanent organic union which will embrace all the temperance forces of the entire country, some organization that will rally, unite, and sustain them for the long conflict, there seems little prospect of politically dethroning the liquor traffic or of annihilating it altogether. Can such a concentration of political energy be accomplished? That it may be achieved should be the devout wish and heartfelt prayer of every man who desires to see the end of the reign of Rum.

2. A Psychological Fact. It is not the size of an army, but the stuff it is made of, that counts in war. To be successful against the rum power while using that power's non-partisan methods, the temperance men must be exactly as non-partisan as is that power. Can they become so? To be absolutely non-partisan is not so much a volition as a mental state. The devotees of the saloon are constitutionally non-partisan. Almost to a man they have subordinated all organizations and all interests to the life and protection of the saloon. There is no party, no government; no person, human, angelic, or divine, that they would not instantly sacrifice to the protection and enthronement of the saloon. Their actions lead one to fear that they would

not hesitate to commit murder, wreck the world, and dethrone God to protect and advance the interests of the saloon!

Men that have no conscience against driving a business that murders one hundred thousand men each year, besides all the other physical, mental, and moral devastation, are not the men to halt or scruple at any appalling deed to save and advance that business. The fact is that they are in dead earnest; and that is precisely the reason why they are and always must be non-partisan. They are anything for the saloon. If that traffic is destructive of every good thing, Satanic, infamous, why should its slaves halt at the commission of any act that would advance the interests of his majesty's business? They can instantly be partisan, non-partisan, omni-partisan, anything to save and serve the accursed traffic.

No body of men, however numerous they may be, can hope to checkmate the liquor men unless they are inspired with a spirit of sacrifice for their convictions fully equal to the zeal exhibited by the saloon people themselves. No aggregation of such men, however earnest they may be in the cause of temperance, who are always ready to concede that "there are other questions before the people;" that "temperance is not the

only issue;" that "we shall throw away our votes;" and that "to vote the temperance ticket this time would elect the other party," —no such aggregation will ever be in dead earnest enough to overthrow the saloon power by non-partisan means. For such men are never at heart non-partisan. Theoretically and academically they dislike the saloon, and would always vote against it, provided that such a vote would not jeopardize the success of their own dear party. But whenever it is a question of the defeat of the saloon or the defeat of their party, their vote always saves both!

It seems almost ludicrous to expect the overthrow of the saloon by non-partisan methods in the hands of men who are never non-partisan. When these men can assign all other issues to a second place, and subordinate all other interests to the destruction of the saloon as thoroughly as the saloon men have done to protect and advance it, then it will be time to talk about destroying the liquor traffic by non-partisan methods. We are not saying that such a state of mind and heart can not be attained. Perhaps it can; but it must be the result of a serious campaign of education and consecration, and, most of all, a mighty baptism of the Spirit of God upon the whole Church. With these

conditions fully met, any good thing is possible.

3. A Very Material Fact. Money is at the very heart of this problem. With the manufacturers and venders of drink it is a matter of business; with their supporters and hangers-on it is a passion for intoxicating liquors. These two passions mutually complement each other and present a solid wall to the assault of their enemies. The temperance people have no fortunes, no financial interests at stake, nor any debased and clamorous passions shrieking for gratification. With them it is a sentiment, a moral purpose, the behest of an ideal. The liquor men generally stake all, for this world and the next, for time and eternity, upon their business. They are in awful earnest, for their very life depends upon the issue. Can we who oppose the saloon claim such a state of desperation? Are we ready to make sacrifices of time and money and effort like that? Is it not the case of the hare and the hound? When berated for not catching the hare, the hound replied, "I was just running for my breakfast, but the hare was running for his life!" When the sentiment of the temperance people becomes as strong a passion for the destruction of the liquor traffic as the passion of its friends for its preservation,

the campaign will be really on, and the overthrow of the saloon will begin to assume the form of hope.

Shall we be understood to say that the greed for gold, which is the living nerve of the liquor traffic, is more potent than a mere sentiment, a moral stand for righteousness? Yes, in the long run, and as a continuous thing. But it is never so strong as a moral passion when that is once fully aroused. Nations, not even good people, do not always live at that sublime moral altitude, but they are capable of reaching it; and when once inflamed to that pitch of interest nothing can resist them. Even the greed for mammon itself goes down before the fiery passion of a genuine and holy crusade. When the good people of this country come fully to that high altar of consecration to the holy cause of temperance, inflamed by one supreme passion to overthrow the liquor traffic and lift this Nation out of intemperance and animalism, they will sweep the liquor traffic into oblivion as easily as they have crushed out some other National crimes.

THE PARTISAN METHOD.

Thus far the American people have shown a rather strong aversion to the partisan method of dealing with the liquor problem,

and but a small fraction of the voters have associated themselves together for this purpose. Their strong attachments to their respective parties which hold out immediate prospects of gaining election favors; the hope, however founded, of finally being able to cope with the rum power in a non-partisan way; the small prospect of being able immediately to gather all temperance men into one political organization,—these have operated thus far to prevent any very general movement in the direction of a strong party organization. Nevertheless such a party, strong in conviction, energetic in action, and able in personnel, has faithfully sought to crystallize the voters around the prohibition idea since 1869. Though this party has not risen to power, nor written its doctrines into law, nor established them as the policy of the Nation, yet its service to the cause of temperance as an aggressive agency in propagating the doctrines of total abstinence and prohibition is generally recognized. For more than forty years it has offered a nucleus around which the forces that oppose the liquor traffic might gather.

There are certain general principles in support of the partisan method which are worthy of most serious consideration in this connection. Among them are these:

1. The best citizens are generally partisan. They may be cultured, liberal, and broad-minded; but in the practical matters of government they are partisan. For this there are many reasons. Such men generally desire the good of the country, and place that above other and personal considerations. Selfish men, on the contrary, generally associate themselves together, not for the general good, but for personal advancement or for the purpose of advancing the fortunes of some scheme or cult or business toward which the general public may be indifferent or unfriendly. Good men despise such procedure. They prefer to support some political party whose aim, they believe, is the public good; and they, casting their fortunes with such a party, dismiss any personal responsibility for the general welfare other than can be secured by casting their votes with the organization of which they are a part.

To stand aloof seems to such men to be childish. To be non-partisan appears ineffective. To vote independently always seems to them to throw away one's personality and to fritter away one's influence in public affairs. Still other excellent men have an honorable ambition to serve the public in positions of official influence and power.

To all such the party organization seems the most available means to such end. It would be idle to hope that such men could become non-partisan or permanently independent in politics. For all effective results the party organization appeals to them. To abandon all political parties appears to them to bury all hope of personal advancement, to relinquish all effective means of having their sentiments felt in government, and to give up all prospect of rendering effective service to the general public.

2. Government is by political parties. There are generally two sides to all questions of public policy. It is unreasonable to expect that the citizens will array themselves on the same side of such questions. One portion of the voters will be for and the other will be against. This is inevitable, and as long as there are free popular governments, political parties will exist. There is scarcely a government in the world to-day that has not its political parties. They are not a convenience, but a necessity.

Some idea in government or some great moral issue generally forms the basis of a political party. Around this proposition the political units crystallize, and at once the political party begins to grow. Whenever its numbers begin to threaten to become a ma-

jority, opposition is aroused and its platform becomes the target of assault. Thus political parties are formed. Of necessity they exist, and become the visible expression of the people's thought upon different sides of some great moral or political issue. To stand aloof is often to proclaim one's self a nonentity. The good citizen, the man of ideas, is almost certain to enter the fray and become a partisan. The organization becomes a necessity, and the appeal of such an issue to the best citizens becomes almost irresistible. It is too much to expect that they will assume an attitude of indifference or of permanent non-partisanship.

The political party that can rally a majority of the votes rises to power and takes the reins of government. Thus the government is always a political party, and the platform of that party can now be written into law and enforced as the policy of the Nation. Thus the political party becomes the government, and the man who is always independent feels that by such an attitude he forfeits his right to a part of the government. He sees the government administered by a party to which he does not belong. He sees his neighbors enjoying its emoluments by virtue of their partisan relation, and he feels lonesome. Few men will persist in that attitude.

They will form alliances with some party and become partisan.

The necessary implication of all this is that a truth, if it is big enough and important enough, and desires the support of the best citizens, must offer itself as a center around which they may rally, or a rock upon which they may build the political structure. To be still more explicit, prohibition, in order to be enthroned, must be the central idea of a political party, and it must compel the voters of the Nation to "line up" on that question.

3. Law fares better in the hands of its friends than in the hands of its enemies. If its friends are a political party in power and administering the government, it has a chance to live and demonstrate its value. If its enemies are in power, instead of administering it they will discredit it, refuse to enforce it, and do all in their power to bring it into disrepute. Fifty years of failure honestly to enforce the prohibitory law of Maine has resulted almost in wrecking the policy altogether. If it fails ultimately, it will be because no political party has ever committed itself to its enforcement in good faith. Prohibition in Kansas and some other portions of the country had until recently to suffer a similar treatment. Nothing is bet-

ter calculated to defeat prohibition than to place such a law upon the statute books and then place in power a political party which is unfriendly to that policy. We would as soon expect Satan to rebuke sin as to expect such a party to enforce a prohibition statute. Such a situation will forever defeat any legislation that seeks the overthrow of the liquor traffic. This is the supreme need of a party, and the party demands partisans. That means that the good citizen finds himself ultimately face to face with the inexorable necessity of associating himself politically and permanently with those of like mind, if ever he expects to see Gambrinus dethroned.

The one classic and all-conclusive illustration of the doctrine here set forth is the abolition of slavery in this country. The independent or non-partisan voter could never have established such a doctrine; could never have reduced it to constitution or statute law; could never have enforced it as the policy of the Nation. But a political party organized upon that basis, adopting that reform as its platform, rising to power upon that issue, molded that doctrine into law, made it the settled purpose of the Nation, and established it at the point of the bayonet. A mighty army in the field doing the will

of the party in power enthroned the emancipation policy as the permanent program of the Nation. As soon as all opposition to that policy was withdrawn, the army disbanded. A political party in power is limited in its operations only by the physical force of the government itself. Such a situation alone makes it possible to inaugurate and establish a great moral reform against powerful opposition.

The necessity of the case, as well as the political philosophy underlying it, make it certain that a political party in power, committed to the doctrine under consideration, is a necessity to the success and permanence of any great reform to which a considerable number of citizens are opposed.

Dan R. Sheen, of Peoria, Ill., says: "We have a prohibitory law right here in the city of Peoria, prohibiting the selling of intoxicating liquors on Sunday, and there is more liquor sold in Peoria on Sunday than on any other day of the week. What is wanting? It is to have the law enforced. Why is it not enforced? Because they have turned the prohibition law over to its enemies to enforce it, and it is not enforced. You might as well try to convict Satan of sin by trying him in his own realm before a jury of twelve

of his imps, as to try to have a prohibition law enforced in the hands of its enemies."

In a speech delivered in Portland, Ore., October 2, 1909, President Taft said: "It is easy enough to break up a party; it is easy enough to prevent legislation; but when you are charged with the responsibility before the country of carrying out legislation, then you have got to have a party behind you."

Thus it seems clear that in a campaign of law-enforcement, whether it be the city, the State, or the Nation, the one supreme condition of success is a party in power committed in good faith to that program. The law is not a failure. It can not fail. The enforcement of the law often fails because it sets out deliberately to accomplish exactly that result. It all finally comes to this: When the American people want prohibition bad enough to put a political party in power committed to that policy, then it will come to pass that *prohibition does prohibit!*

CHAPTER X

OPPORTUNITY OF THE CHURCH

The Christian Church—"Light" to illuminate the darkness of this world; "Salt" to save this world from corruption and death—was probably never so well organized as it is in our country to-day. Never was there a time when there were truer men and women in the Church than now, nor a time when the benevolent enterprises of the Church were better sustained. Never a time before when such munificent sums were freely given for churches, colleges, hospitals, and for foreign missions. Earnest men and faithful women, flourishing Sunday schools, and enterprising and spiritual young people—all these the Church can truly boast to-day. They are the light that must illumine us, the salt that must save us, our Church, and our country, else the saloon will swamp and swallow all. These are glorious facts, but alas! they are not all the facts.

If we were to inquire into the exact state of the Church—we do not mean the few precious and godly women and men that can be

found in all Churches, nor do we mean any one denomination, but the entire Christian establishment in these United States—what would we find? Would we find the entire Church laboring to save souls or to rescue our own country from the paganism that is spreading so rapidly everywhere? Would we find the Church increasing more rapidly than our population is increasing? Would we find that we are saving the cities, purifying the slums, destroying the saloons, gambling dens, and places of vile resort? Would we find that, in spite of the Church, each fresh arrival of foreign immigrants drops the moral tone of our social and national life a degree? Would we find the membership of the Church in the house of God on the Sabbath day, or a majority of them in automobiles and out upon Sabbath excursions? Would we find the Church fervent in aggressive evangelism these long winter evenings, or in theaters and social clubs? Would we find Church members full of religious power and enjoyment, or in a state of moral dearth and indifference? Would we not have to admit that we are not winning the unsaved in great numbers; that we have not had a sweeping revival in three decades; that we are not generally looking for one; that it is not uncommon to hear that the days

of great revivals are past, that there is not power enough in prayer, preaching, and the gospel to save grown-up sinners any more; that our only hope now is to save the children; that a great soul-saving and Nation-lifting revival is no longer to be expected? Would we find that the Church has quite generally become a social club; that it has become so nice, so respectable, and so refined that the poor no longer feel at home in it, and that the working people no longer find in it the social fellowship and spiritual food which they hunger for, and have consequently turned their backs upon it from one end of the country to the other, except chiefly in the Catholic Church and the Salvation Army?

Our Lord, sending word to John the Baptist in prison, gave a list of those things being done and the blessings that were being dispensed, closed the splendid catalog with the declaration that the gospel was being preached to the poor. These were His Divine Credentials. Are these the credentials of the living Church to-day—reaching the poor in great numbers; lifting up the submerged one-tenth; saving the vicious and the criminal; breaking down the spirit of worldliness; winning the fast young men and women who swarm the saloons, clubrooms, parks, and

summer resorts Sunday afternoons and evenings? Is the Church as active and self-sacrificing as are the children of this world? Is it filling the down-town districts with social centers more numerous and more attractive than the saloons and beer gardens, and pouring a stream of spiritual life and power into the darkest corners of the vice-infected and slum-cursed cities? To be exactly honest, would we not have in sorrow to admit that the state of a large portion of the Church does not very well comport with the terms of the Great Commission, and that it is not fully meeting the expectation of its Divine Lord?

We have striven to be cautious about making disparaging affirmations, lest we be classed with railers and pessimists. But we anxiously inquire whether the present state of things greatly disturbs the average Church member? Are most of them self-satisfied, apathetic, indifferent? How are we to interpret the spirit of people who rarely attend the church on the Sabbath, and prayer-meetings never; whose daily life is secular, and whose testimony is silence; who are cold, never emitting spiritual warmth; whose sentiments are the opinions of the world; whose Bible is the Sunday newspaper; who are never known to feed upon

any other nourishment; who are never known to pray for a revival; who are never looking for one; and who never express a desire for one; who do not find enjoyment in that kind of thing; who delight in theaters more than prayer-meetings; who enjoy the sight of ballet dancers more than that of lost souls wrestling at the altars of the Church; who prefer operatic music to the songs of Moses and the Lamb;—who are we to interpret a life projected upon this plane? What does such a state mean for the future spiritual life of our country and of the world?

When has the Church seriously attacked a moral reform? The social evil is spreading beyond anything ever before known in this country. The Lord's day is desecrated until in some parts of the country it is entirely wiped out and everywhere threatens to be given over to secular pursuits and worldly pleasure. Civic crime and municipal corruption are engulfing our cities until many of them are but cesspools of vice and political rottenness, while the increase of saloons, drunkenness, gambling, and lust are appalling and phenomenal.

Theoretically the Church places itself against all these forms of evil. The resolutions which it passes always have the right ring in them. One would almost think that

it expected to save the world through its committee on resolutions. But can it truly be said that the entire Christian Church in America is determined to save this country—to evangelize the unsaved; to overthrow the liquor traffic; to destroy the gambling den and the brothel; to clean up the civic life of our cities; and to enthrone Jesus Christ in our social, financial, and political life as well as in our religious life? Can all or any part of this program be carried out by a Church that is indifferent and apathetic? Can the political power of the saloon be crushed by the Church not one in ten of whose voting members have cast a vote against it at any general election in fifty years? Can the saloon, entrenched as it is in politics, be overthrown by the Christian Church so long as its members, or a large majority of them, utterly refuse to vote against it? A mighty change must come over the heart of the Church. It must wake up and attack these problems in dead earnest, and lift this country out of the stark heathenism into which we are fast sinking, as the early Christian Church lifted the old Roman civilization out of its social wickedness and National sins, as the Wesley revival lifted England out of its moral dearth and "changed the temper of the English-speaking race" and saved Eng-

land from the vortex of the French Revolution, or this Nation is doomed without hope and without remedy.

THE CHURCH'S FIRST CALL TO BATTLE.

But there is hope. If we go back fifty years we shall come to a time when there was a great wave of temperance sentiment and moral energy sweeping over this country. Between the years 1851 and 1861 seventeen States adopted prohibition laws. There was astounding activity in the Churches. They were storm-centers of the great reform. There were sermons, prayers, songs, pledge-signing, speech-making, exhortations, and personal appeals. Legislatures were packed with prohibition members. Prohibition votes were cast by an aroused Church, and prohibition laws were enacted by men who both prayed and voted for prohibition. When the Civil War broke out every Northern State had passed prohibition laws except New Jersey and California. A political conscience was aroused that sought to put itself right upon other great moral issues in the National life. The Church of the living God was wide awake, and there were never such activity and success. Obedient to the call of duty, God raised them to a high moral level. They did not spend their force in foam.

They put their votes into the ballot-boxes along with their prayers. The petitions which they sent to the Legislature had boots on. And God blessed the Church and made it a moral power such as had not been seen in centuries!

What followed? A revival of religion in the later fifties, the like of which our country had not seen since the days of Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards. It was a glorious moral and spiritual uplift, and extended widely over the Nation. Coming as it did just before the Civil War, it lifted the whole Nation to a high pitch of moral enthusiasm. No nation can bring its best of treasure and life and place it freely upon the high altar of sacrifice until it is first smitten with the Spirit of God; and the Holy Spirit does not often smite with saving power and exalted devotion nations whose moral purposes and energies evaporate in emotions and resolutions!

It ruins a spirited horse to saddle and bridle him, tie him to a post and let him prance around it, forever punching good soil into mud, but going nowhere. Is not that the situation of the Church in America today? Has it not allowed itself to be tied to the chariot of Gambrinus, or has it not been mortgaged to political organizations which

have transferred it body and soul to the liquor power? Unwilling to cast its vote to destroy the works of the saloon and the devil, has it not lost its faith in the moral purposes of God and become an enfeebled agent for the renovation of society? Having refused to vote as it prayed, has it not lost both its vote and its prayer?

If we are ever to have a genuine revival of religion, one that will save all classes of men and lift the very Nation itself out of the municipal corruption and political rottenness into which it has been sinking ever since the saloon gained control of our political parties, the Church must dissolve partnership with rum-ruled parties and beer-soaked politicians, and go into partnership with Jesus Christ. It can never drag its Divine Lord into any such unholy alliance. She entered that alliance without Him, and her spiritual barrenness is the result. The colossal blunder of the Church membership, for which apathy and dry-rot are in their souls, is that they have allowed themselves to be cajoled into the support of organizations dominated by the saloon, and that they have steadily refused to make themselves felt in behalf of temperance and political righteousness. It is too late now in extenuation to make answer, "It is not the province of the Church

to engage in political matters," when every voting member of the Church has been literally submerged in politics ever since he arrived at majority! Politics, yes! but unwilling to wield his political power to dethrone sin and the drink curse. How can a servant of God disclaim any responsibility for the crimes of the liquor power so long as he has power to vote against it, and refuses to do so?

THE CHURCH'S SECOND CALL TO BATTLE.

But God in mercy gave the Church its second call to battle against the saloon in 1874. The Woman's Temperance crusade began in Ohio in December, 1873, and within a few weeks women were on their knees in all parts of our country pleading with God to destroy the saloon. A mighty moral earnestness suddenly seized the Church. Brothers, fathers, and husbands joined in the work with their prayers and their ballots. They voted the saloons out of a thousand towns and cities, and put prohibition into the constitutions of four States. A tidal wave of temperance like that which swept over the country in the fifties began a mighty movement across the continent. A lofty purpose seized the Church, and spirituality began to revive. The great religious awakening of

which Mr. D. L. Moody was an honored instrument began about the same time and largely dominated the thought of the Nation during the decade of the seventies. A revival of religion like that of twenty years before seemed certain. Its promise was everywhere, and seemed to shine upon the very face of the sky. In such a revival the saloon saw its doom. The enormous gains which it had made during the Civil War would be lost unless it could in some way block the progress of the religious and temperance revival. But this time the rum power was organized and ready. It controlled the political machinery of both parties. This was instantly invoked, and of course sprang to the rescue of the saloon. One of the great political parties was already committed to the protection of the saloon, and the other, by adopting the infamous Raster resolution in its National convention, committed that party also against the temperance reform. The Christian voters, crouching like whipped dogs, got off their knees and crawled back into their party fetters, where they have since remained. Our crucified Lord was sold out once more. The temperance wave subsided; the revival passed; the saloon mounted its throne of power, and the old ship Zion went

into dry dock, where it has been for more than thirty years!

What hope is there that the liquor traffic will ever be overthrown, or that true religion will revive, or that worldliness will cease, or that popular vices will be destroyed, so long as the voting Church is almost unanimously "hand in glove" with the saloon or with political organizations absolutely committed to the saloon policies? Who does not feel that the prayers of such voters are an insult to God? Has not God always demanded the obedience of His children as the condition of His blessing? Does He not say:

"Bring all your tithes into the storehouse, and see if I will not pour you out a blessing." "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, and I will receive you." "Bring forth fruits meet for repentance." "Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before Mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land;

but if ye rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

Is not a genuine revival of Christian manhood, Christian independence, and Christian obedience to the will of God an indispensable antecedent to any possible hope of a revival of pure and undefiled religion?

A COVENANT WITH DEATH.

How does it come to pass that men professing to be good and taking upon themselves the sacred name of Christ can continue year after year in alliance with the saloon or in bondage to parties dominated by the saloon interests? Is there any possible answer to this question?

The liquor traffic is in business for the money that is in it, and that comes easily and abundantly. It is in politics to protect itself from the assaults of those who would destroy it. It therefore has both financial and political power. With these it controls large numbers of voters and dominates political parties. Through these parties it influences government and prevents legislation that would do it harm. The "good" citizen acquiesces in all this and votes to support the saloon program chiefly because such a course will enhance his business interests or

secure to him political favors. Thus in the final analysis he sells humanity and crucifies his Lord for a mess of pottage. Not philanthropy but selfishness lies deep at the bottom of it all. This personal equation blinds his spiritual vision, else he would quickly "annul this Covenant with Death and this Agreement with Hell!" When we truly love God with all our hearts and our neighbors as ourselves, the unspeakable infamy of the license system will stand before our eyes stark in all its Satanic devilment. Would that we might see it now, before it is too late.

But go, Christian voter, where night is darkest, and where broken hearts are bleeding over the ruin which your party-protected and legalized saloons have wrought, sing the song of the Almighty Dollar, and tell them that for all their bitter agony your palm is filled with gold, and that your party is in power and has all the offices and all the plunder. Tell them that for gold and party success voters professing the sacred name of Christ stand ready to lick the dust off the heels of saloon-keepers and to crawl through all the slimy sewers of political sin. Tell the shivering and hungry children that you have hoodwinked Providence and astonished the devil with a brilliant financial hocus-pocus that has taken the food from the

mouths and the clothing from the bodies of these helpless little ones and transmuted all into votes for your party and into gold—licensed gold!

Tell the weary, haggard wife that the license for which your party stands has put into your bank account a paltry percentage of the rose that once bloomed upon her cheek, her health, her home, her happiness, her husband's manhood and love—all gone, and gone forever—but you hold ten per cent of it, changed by the God-defying alchemy of saloon politics into yellow gold!

Tell the shivering drunkard, as in wild delirium he dreams, that he can yet beat back the serpents that sting him and the volcanic fires that consume him, that you have in your pocket the price of his shame and deep damnation in yellow gold!

Stand at the threshold of the asylum and mockingly taunt the hungry, the deformed, the squalid, and idiotic with the news that out of their misery and ruin you have put your party in power and gathered a harvest of gold. Listen to the remorseless hinge of the prison door that slams and shrieks after its entombed victim, and cheer thy brother's desolation with the news that a great Christian Commonwealth has deliberately sold him to crime and shame for gold, and that

the infamy is annually sanctioned at the ballot-box and without protest by millions of Christian voters!

Tell the ragged orphans in the streets that for a handful of yellow gold you became *particeps criminis* to the accursed infamy that robbed them of food and clothing, of parents, home, and education, and that your vote and your party deliberately sold them for gold and the unspeakable reward of a political victory! Tell the sixty thousand girls who, from the homes of America, are annually entrapped in the saloons, wine-rooms, and beer dens protected by your party, and through these awful gateways, these licensed hells, whirl into the brothel and onward to the dark river of death—tell them that the crime and shame must go in order that your political party may stay in power and its heelers may fatten upon the tribute, extortion, and graft!

Stand by the more than one hundred thousand new graves of the last twelve months' harvest, and from your open Bible read that "no drunkard shall inherit the Kingdom of God," while before you reel the ghosts of uncounted thousands slain in saloons licensed by Christian voters, each lost soul justly taunting you with the awful responsibility of his ruin; tell them that the price

of their eternal doom has all been paid in license fees and political victories!

TO BE WEIGHED IN GOD'S BALANCES.

As this grim procession of lost and ruined souls moves on to the Court of Last Resort, let no one be deceived. They will go not there alone. Those responsible for their ruin will go there also. The saloon-keeper, who day by day sees his victim shivering and trembling under the fiery draught which he clutches from his bar, sees him waste and shrivel away, scorched by the breath of the consuming poison, can not possibly escape his just share of the responsibility. What shifty plea can extenuate the crime of those who granted the license to sell this liquid death? Judas did not nail Christ to the cross, but he sold Him for thirty pieces of silver to those who did, and for nearly two thousand years the judgment of mankind has justly execrated him for the infamy. The legislator who dared to bully Jehovah by enacting a law to license crime which God had forbidden, must bear his full share of responsibility. The law, instead of preventing drunkenness and crime, protects and perpetuates the means and incentives for both; yet he voted for that law. How can he hope to escape the frown of infinite justice? The

voter who voted for that legislator to make the law, and who continues to support the party in power to execute that policy, what will be his share in the final retribution? Is he not just as responsible as any man in the line? Is he not the only man in the system who has power absolutely and with one swift blow to put a stop to the entire juggernaut of drunkenness and crime under the sanction and protection of law?

The voter is the only man who can slay the monster. The initiative is in his hands; but he refuses to use it. Yet he professes to love God and his fellow-men; and he fully intends at the final judgment throne to lay the entire blame for the murder of those slaughtered millions upon the saloon-keeper! What can that voter say when the Judge shall ask, *"Where is Abel, thy brother?"* By washing his hands of the saloon infamy he may avert that calamity now; *then* it will be too late!

THE CHURCH IS YET THE HOPE OF THE WORLD.

Standing on Mount Olivet and looking over the Holy City, there came from the heart of Jesus the despairing cry, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered your chil-

dren together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate." And with that sad prophecy, tender and tearful with weeping over sinners whom He could not save, He forever abandoned Jerusalem as the hope of the world. Its opportunity passed, never to return, and God raised up other men to carry on the work of the Kingdom. The glory had departed from Jerusalem forever.

But the Master has not yet said to the Church in America, "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate!" He sees the Church to-day facing problems not entirely unlike those which engulfed the Church at Jerusalem. He sees the pride, and worldliness, and lust, and vice, and intemperance, and greed, and civic wickedness, and financial oppression—all these are present to His sight; He sees His Church weakened by the lust of worldly pleasure, secularized and despiritualized by the social life about it; but still He waits. Through the Church He still hopes to redeem America. The Church is still the hope of lost men. It is God's earthly means for the enthronement of righteousness in this world. The Church is not dead; it is not decadent; it is asleep. If now it will but hear the call of the Master, "Awake, thou that

sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light!" it shall be able to save America. But slumbering, it can do nothing.

The Church is mightier than the saloon; yet the saloon survives and flourishes. It is greater than all political corruption; yet political corruption holds sway. It is more potent than all the vice and lust of the nation; yet they are rampant. It is supreme over all worldliness and greed; yet the spirit of godlessness and gain breathes its moral blight over all the land. Never was the saloon more blatant, nor apparently more sure of final triumph. But it shall die. The day of its reckoning shall come when the Church awakes and assails it with the fury of determination. There have been many dark days in human history. Many hours of deep gloom have come into the life of the Church. But as surely as the dawn follows midnight, so sure are we that the Church will yet awake and kill the saloon. Already there are signs of the coming day. O Church of God, awake! Multitudes perish while ye sleep. In full view of the fact that the saloon everywhere disputes the work of the Church, and always tears down what the Church is trying to build up; in sight of the multitudes of lost and ruined men who are annually damned by

the saloon, and with full knowledge that the Sacrifice on Calvary was made to redeem men, and that Christ broke His heart to save them,—the Church now owes it to its Divine Lord, as one has truly said, "to go forth and take the scalp of the accursed liquor traffic and lay it down at the feet of the Son of God. And it ought to do it now!"

MIGHTY LEADERSHIP THE NEED OF THE HOUR.

"I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace day nor night; ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not silence, and give Him no rest till He establish, and till He make Jerusalem a praise in the earth."

1. There are certain political things which a Christian minister should not do.

The minister may not be a politician; but he must be a Christian, a citizen, a philanthropist, a patriot. These obligations he can not escape. Upon the rostrum and as a citizen he may advocate anything which he believes to be for the good of the people; but in his pulpit he should not advocate any political party. He should strive neither to build up nor tear down a political party, unless a party be manifestly immoral; in that case he should speak out upon the peril of his soul. He should speak neither for nor

against candidates for public office, unless candidates who are flagrantly immoral are presented for the suffrage of the people. Under all circumstances he should be free from bitterness and the partisan spirit. Then will men respect both his candor and his sincerity. But,

2. There are certain political things which a Christian minister should do.

The Christian minister must be a leader in this great temperance reform. He can not escape this responsibility. He should strive to discharge all his obligations as a citizen, and encourage others to do likewise. He should be free to discuss political questions that have clearly a moral phase, and to advocate the adoption of those which he believes to be morally right. He should unsparingly expose the corrupt practices of politicians, and tell the people plainly by what political tricks and evil methods the saloon rules America. He should also show to the people how this oppression can be overcome at the ballot-box. And he should use all his influence to accomplish that result. All this he may do, and ought to do; and he can do it all without incurring the opprobrium of being a partisan, or violating his conscience or his obligation as a minister and God-appointed leader of the Church in

moral and spiritual matters. When a great moral issue was before the American people, Bishop Gilbert Haven, of blessed memory, said: "It is one of the devices of Satan, by which he seeks to harden your heart against the truth and make you deaf to your duty against the greatest sin of this or any age—that the servant of Christ must not expose it, because, forsooth, it has compelled a political party to become its most active slave. What is this consecrated politics that it is beyond the reach of the Word of God and too sacred to be condemned by Him? Away with such blasphemous folly! I ask no pardon for entering this arena, nor should you."

The temperance cause needs leaders—intelligent, fearless, consecrated leaders. Long has the Church been wandering in the wilderness. The members are confused, some of them are astonished and pained that so many of their spiritual leaders do not seem to know the way nor what to do. "An army of stags led by a lion is better than an army of lions led by a stag." The times call for heroic men. Half-hearted men will not do; such a campaign does not appeal to them. They tire out too easily. Their moral nerve too quickly suffers a slump. Men whose moral sense is feeble will continue to lull their conscience to slumber by telling the

people that "there are other important questions in politics than the liquor traffic." Just as long as we are willing to admit that there are other issues of equal or greater importance, just so long the saloon will reign and the moral devastation will go on. When the entire Church, led by an inspired ministry, shall reach the moral altitude in which they are willing to deny that there is any other question entitled to one minute's consideration beside this, the saloon will die.

The supreme demand of the hour is that the entire vote of the Church shall be registered against the liquor traffic. When, in 1852, the anti-slavery men polled 152,000 votes for John P. Hale, they forced that issue into American politics, where it stayed until that question was settled. When the Populists, in 1892, gave J. B. Weaver 1,122,048 votes for free silver they compelled recognition of their cause and made it necessary for the American people to face that as the dominant issue for a dozen years. More than five millions of American voters have at one time or another, and in widely separated localities, expressed by their ballots their desire for prohibition; and yet, because they have been kept asunder by the tricks of politicians, by parties enslaved to the rum power, and by the inertia of their own political

bondage, these voters scarcely ever consider the real issue at all, nor are they ever permitted to "line up" against the saloon. The liquor traffic has been in politics every hour since November 12, 1862. The only votes that can force the prohibition issue also into politics are the votes of Christian men; but so long as the ministry are timid, apathetic, and divided, the Christian vote will be delivered to the saloon and to organizations dominated by that power. The saloon will, as in the past, continue to write platforms, make nominations, and elect candidates. This it goes on doing by grace of the Church; and there is no power in this country but the Church, under God, that can dethrone the cruel monarch. O, that Heaven would raise up a mighty ministry that would lead the Church out of bondage to Gambrinus and the devil into the Promised Land of political freedom and civic righteousness! The temperance cause is in many places deadlocked and waiting for that hour to come.

THE CHURCH IN ACTION.

Nearly every Christian denomination in America now has its permanent temperance committee. The Presbyterian Church has the immortal honor of pioneering this movement. Following its example, similar com-

mittees have been established, with suitable National headquarters, by the following Churches in the United States:

Baptists—Rev. Hervey Wood, 49 Clairmont Ave., New York City.

Catholic—Mr. John T. Shea, 50 Congress St., Boston, Mass.

Congregational—Rev. John Faville, Appleton, Wis.

Disciples of Christ—Homer J. Hall, M. D., Franklin, Ind.

Evangelical Lutheran—Rev. E. C. Dinwiddie, Bliss Building, Washington, D. C.

Friends in America—Mr. James Wood, Mt. Kisco, New York.

Hicksite Friends—Dr. O. E. Janey, 845 Utah Place, Baltimore, Md.

Methodist Episcopal—Dr. C. T. Wilson, Topeka, Kan.

Methodist Protestant—Rev. D. C. Coburn, D. D., Zanesville, Ohio.

Presbyterian—Prof. Chas. Scanlon, Conestoga Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Presbyterian (United)—Rev. Chas. D. Fulton, Canonsburg, Pa.

Presbyterian (Reformed)—Rev. W. W. Carithers, Apache, Okla.

Protestant Episcopal—H. K. Graham, Church Mission House, New York City.

Unitarian—Rev. J. H. Crooker, D. D., Boston, Mass.

United Brethren—Bishop G. M. Matthews, Chicago, Ill.

United Evangelical—Rev. F. W. Bartlett, Franklin, Pa.

Recently these committees have been organized into a federation entitled "The International Temperance Federation," and are now considering plans for a Nation-wide campaign against the rum power. This movement is one of the significant and hopeful signs of reawakening life. It promises help and inspiration to every temperance man and measure, and in a practical way to bring the entire Church in our country into united and aggressive warfare against the saloon. When the Churches, seeing eye to eye, and standing shoulder to shoulder—as they have never yet fully done, but as this movement proposes to array them—looking upon their vast resources, and feeling the thrill of their united power, conscious of the leadership of their Divine Captain, who never lost a battle, shall fall upon the army of boodlers and grafters and booze-mongers and drunkards as Joshua fell upon the confederated multitudes at Gibeon, the saloon power shall be overthrown, and forever de-

stroyed. May the Church quickly fall into line while Heaven leads the way!

TEMPERANCE SOCIETY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Separately each committee will direct the work and furnish plans and leadership for its own Church. The Temperance Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with headquarters in Topeka, has already begun a vigorous propaganda of education and agitation which will be felt by every Conference, every minister, every Church, and every member throughout our country and our mission fields.

The plans of work so far developed are:

A lecture bureau, sending out competent speakers to Churches, Sunday schools, conventions, Conferences, Chautauquas, and to help in no-license campaigns in cities, counties, and States.

A press agency supplying information upon every phase of the temperance reform to Leagues, Sunday schools, and to Church papers as well as to the secular press.

A society furnishing temperance literature—leaflets, pledge cards, papers, and books—to all the Sunday schools, Leagues, and Churches in Methodism.

A benevolent board raising funds to help counties and States in critical struggles when they are under the fire of the united liquor forces of the country, thus throwing the power of the Church into campaigns for State-wide prohibition.

This society is the official agitator organized by the General Conference to keep the Church awake and aggressive, to enlist the children for total abstinence, and the voters for the suppression of the political power of the saloon. It is one of the sixteen largest denominations in America, the greatest army ever rallied to the trumpet call of a righteous cause against the mighty foe of the home, the Church, the State, and of civilization itself. After a century of experimenting with attempts to fight the temperance battle through resolutions, the Church has now organized for militant leadership of its own forces, and the making good of its own resolutions. While being no less helpful and sympathetic with all other anti-saloon organizations, the Church feels, and through this agency expresses, its responsibility for the sentiment, training, and conduct of its own six millions of members and Sunday school pupils.

This society has just begun its work. It is young, but has already accomplished much

in the distribution of literature and in public addresses and appeals. The temperance anniversaries which it has held in Conferences and conventions already fully justify its place in the economy of an aggressive Church that fully intends to save this country from the bondage of the liquor traffic.

CONCLUSION.

We know no words of human speech more appropriate, nor any more potent, with which to close this chapter and this book than the words of the mighty message of Bishop Joseph F. Berry, entitled,

"AWAKE, O CHURCH OF GOD!"

"The drinking of rum is the most fruitful source of human misery. Admitted. The saloon is the world's chief death-trap, the center of diabolism on earth. Admitted. The existence of this chief death-trap has been authorized by municipal, State, and Federal laws, and the ruinous business is as legal as any other business in the land. Admitted. The number of communicants in the Christian Churches of this country approximates 28,000,000. Counting one member in five of the Protestant Churches, and one in six of the Roman Catholic Church as voters, a conservative estimate places the Christian

vote of the Nation at not less than 5,200,000. Admitted. The drink evil stands squarely in the way, as no other obstacle does, of the progress of the Church and the evangelization of the world. Admitted. Then in the name of our God of holiness, and of debauched and ruined souls and their weeping, despairing kindred, *why do we not arouse ourselves, and seek to put a stop to this work of destruction?*

AWAKE, O CHURCH OF GOD!

"What a strange paralysis has taken hold upon the Christian citizenship of the Republic! While we are sleeping in fancied security, what has the enemy not done? He has subjected us to a tyranny worse than that which any other page of history records. He has bound us in bondage worse than any other human slaves have endured. *We have licensed hell!* For a price we have given the devil permission to produce poverty, profligacy, cruelty, wretchedness, death. We submit while he transforms heirs of heaven into felons, harlots, paupers, madmen, and murderers. We permit an organized devilish despotism to be reared at our own doors, which possesses money without limit and audacity without bounds. This gigantic oligarchy moves forward with giant strides,

inflames society with all the passions of the pit, robs its victims, tears out their manhood, crushes out hope, and finally pushes them downward to an awful doom. This institution is the school of anarchy, the prolific breeding place of crime, the nursery of every human woe, the irreconciled and irreconcilable enemy of the Christian Church! How long is this sleep of indifference to go on? Who will sound a trumpet call loud enough to arouse the drowsy disciples of our Lord?

AWAKE, O CHURCH OF GOD!

"Shall not the Methodist Episcopal Church get ready to fight the whisky demon as she has never fought before? Shall not bishops, editors, secretaries, pastors, and influential laymen who stand high in the councils of political parties, and the young men and women who will soon be upon the blazing firing-line of the battle against unrighteousness, gird themselves for a war determined and terrible against our Satanic foe?

AWAKE, O CHURCH OF GOD!

"In theory we are against the saloon. That is what our Conference and convention resolutions say. That is the doctrine with which our pulpits ring. But the rum people grow sleek and fat, and are increased in gold

and goods, while we *do* almost nothing. The great God *yearns* to save this world; and He will do it just as soon as His Church will lend its co-operation. *But we do not look for a great, sweeping, all-pervading, all-conquering revival of religion in this country until the Christian Church shall arise in its might and do its utmost to smite, hip and thigh, the monstrous, murderous, liquor traffic!*

"If we really mean to crush the rum power, *it means war.* Speeches are good. Prayers are good. Resolutions are good. Denunciations are good. But all these combined are powerless to rout our altogether vicious enemy. We must *fight!* We must fight hard. We must fight with a strength born of desperation. It is to a *war* we propose to go, young men and maidens, not a *picnic.* In the name of God and righteousness and of besotted men and suffering women and starving children, we call upon you to get ready!

"This means WAR! The distiller is against us. The brewer is against us. The saloonist is against us. The respectable citizen who rents his property for whisky purposes is against us. The gambler is against us. The dive-keeper is against us. The

politician is against us. The weak-kneed merchant and professional man, who think more of their business than their principles, are against us. The time-serving Christian who thinks more of his party than of his fealty to Christ is against us. *All the Satanic forces that are operating to pull men and women down to hell are against us!* This means WAR! The day of resolutions is past. What does the devil care for resolutions? While we have 'resolved' and 'arraigned' and 'denounced,' he has laughed. Our words have 'made us a reproach to our neighbors, a scorn and a derision to them that are round about us, a byword among the heathen, and a shaking of the head among the people.'

"Enough of this sort of campaign! The specific work, then, which the Church has upon its hand is to make trouble for the rum power. That will make trouble for some of us. Before we get through with the crusade a good many of us may suffer. That is the soldiers' lot. But is the cause not worthy of sacrifice? If the young men who are steadily marching through the back door of the saloon down to ruin and death are ever to be rescued, *the Church must rescue them.* If the murderous business is ever to be out-

lawed and pulverized, the *Christian Vote* must elect the men who will enact the laws and see that they are *enforced!*

"The issue is clear. It is looking us squarely in the face. We can not avoid it. We can not shirk our responsibility. Men and women who profess loyalty to Jesus Christ, WHAT WILL YOU DO?

"AWAKE, O CHURCH OF GOD!"

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